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David Collins, Esq.



AN ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
ENGLISH COLONY  
IN  
NEW SOUTH WALES,

BY  
DAVID COLLINS,  
SOMETIME JUDGE-ADVOCATE AND SECRETARY  
OF THE COLONY.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, AND NOTES,  
BY  
JAMES COLLIER,  
AUTHOR OF "SIR GEORGE GREY: AN HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY."



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AN ACCOUNT OF THE  
ENGLISH COLONY

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DAVID COLLINGS

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NEW SOUTH WALES

M-883184



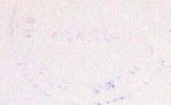
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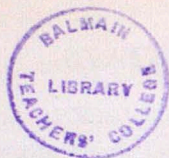
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## INTRODUCTION.

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The maritime origin of the British Empire in Australia is visible in the contemporary narratives of its foundation. All of these were written either by naval officers, or by officers of that hybrid branch which is closely associated with the navy, or were compiled from the materials they supplied. Governors Phillip, Hunter, King, and Surgeon White were naval officers; Captain Collins and Captain Tench were marine officers. In the struggle for existence among the various records, the one composed by Captain Collins, now reprinted, must be pronounced the fittest and most adequate survivor. It is the fullest, the most deliberate, the most carefully composed, and the most artistic of them all. Deficiencies might be supplied from the other records, and a composite narrative, a *quantum* or *sextum quid*, resembling Croker's edition of Boswell's *Johnson*, woven together. But the unity of the basic work would suffer, and its somewhat sombre complexion would be incongruously blended with the gaiety of Tench or the variety of White. It is and will remain unique as a historical memorial of the beginnings of a new social organism and a new type of civilisation.

The biography of Collins is sufficiently known to be briefly narrated down to the time when the course of his life was changed, and he settled in New South Wales. From that time, save for a period of six years spent in England, but still connected with the Colony by its being devoted to the composition of his work relating to it, his life belongs to the history of Australia. Collins was no hero, but he was a saint, and in the *Acta Sanctorum* of these colonies he has his place.

David Collins\* was the eldest son of Major-General Arthur Tooker Collins and his wife, Harriet Frazer, described as being "of Pack," in King's County, Ireland. On the paternal side he came of a good English stock: his grandfather was

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\*The source of information relating to Collins chiefly used by writers of his biography is a note appended to *Memoirs of Joseph Holt*, ii., 254-6, edited by T. Crofton Croker. The long note, which is printed within inverted commas, must have been either written by Croker, or furnished to him by some well-informed person.



Arthur Collins, the antiquarian and author of the *Debrett* of his day; while his mother was apparently of Scottish Highland extraction. He was born on March 3rd, 1756 (no authoritative biographer says where\*), and he was well educated, as we perceive from his manner of writing, at the grammar school of Exeter, but his education was soon completed, and, doubtless through his father's interest with the military authorities, he was gazetted a lieutenant of marines in 1770, when he was a boy only fourteen years old. The marines were an unpopular, but a useful branch of the service, and in those days promotion—sometimes opportunities—came quickly.

In 1772 Collins had an accidental connection with one of the most tragic histories of his time. The poor Princess Matilda, sister of George III., married for political reasons to King Christian of Denmark, and now self-accused of unfaithfulness with Struensee, once a Danish medical practitioner, later the all-powerful minister of the King, was threatened with execution. Then the British Ambassador declared that, having been divorced, she again became an English princess, and, if a hair of her head were touched, he would order the British fleet to bombard Copenhagen. On her way to Zell, the Hanoverian castle where her great-grandmother, Sophia of Hanover, expiated a similar frailty with the too celebrated Count Koenigsmark, the guard of honour that received the discrowned queen as she went on board a British man-o'-war had for its commander our boy-lieutenant, who was permitted to kiss the hand of the unhappy princess.

In 1775 Collins was sent to North America, where the great rebellion was on foot, and this early connection with the colonies was an auspice of the activities to which his life was to be dedicated. In that year his battalion distinguished itself in the historic battle of Bunker's Hill, in which his father was engaged. Next year, probably, he returned to England, where in 1777, he was Acting-Adjutant of the marines at Chatham. Five years later, with the rank of captain, he took part in a naval action for the relief of Gibraltar. That same year he again returned to England, and, after the cessation of war with France, he settled at Rochester, where he lived with an American lady, whom he had elsewhere married.

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\*Mr. David Blair (*Cyclopædia of Australasia, sub nom.*) and Dr. Hocken, in his *Bibliography of New Zealand*, p. 28, state positively that he was born at Exeter.



He might well deem his naval career at an end. The marines were the least esteemed branch of the British military forces. Six years later, when a regiment of marines was sent to guard the infant settlement in New South Wales, its commanding officer, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony, gratefully remarked to the Permanent Under-Secretary, whose idea it had been thus to utilise the marines, that that was the first occasion when they had been "employed in any way out of the usual line of duty," and he promised to "strain every nerve" "in the faithful and diligent discharge of his new duties."\* He was mistaken, as we have seen: the marines served as troops of the line on many occasions during the American rebellion. Yet he was right in the main. Now the marines were given a unique opportunity of rendering a service to the Empire, and the man who most conspicuously failed to keep his pledge was this same Major Ross. He was a thorn in the side of Governor Phillip as long as he was allowed to remain in New South Wales, but other officers of the regiment showed themselves worthy.

Of these the very best, unquestionably, was David Collins, and the opportunity of a lifetime was about to open before him. Strangely appointed Judge-Advocate of the to-be founded colony, he was more closely identified with its fortunes during his eight years of residence than any other man save Governor Phillip and Governor Hunter. It was a singular appointment for Evan Nepean, then the all-powerful Under-Secretary—the Sir James Stephen of his day—to give to a captain of marines. It was a merited tribute to Collins's intelligence and sterling character. It was none the less a dubious appointment. Though he must have been present at the holding of many a court-martial, Collins had had no legal training, and all his official aptitudes had to be acquired. The piebald office was one that was almost impracticable. A court-martial officer with that title was Crown-prosecutor; the office of Judge-Advocate in New South Wales was still undifferentiated, and Collins was public prosecutor, juryman, and judge rolled into one. No ordinary man could have filled it acceptably, and it is much to be able to say that he was only at times unequal to a difficult situation. He had fractious individuals to deal with, and he was judge in a community with a convict base. Fortunately, for five years he

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\*Barton, G. B., *History of New South Wales from the Records*, i., 114-5.



had behind and above him the firmest and the most sagacious of rulers, the admirable Phillip, and Phillip was his friend as long as the most capable of Governors remained in New South Wales.

Collins's prominence and his duties began early. He had sailed from England in May, 1787, with the famous First Fleet, on the memorable voyage to Australia (as yet thus unnamed), when a large convoy was carried a distance of 14,000 miles, much of it over unknown waters, to an unknown port, where never before a ship had anchored. When they had reached their destination, he recognised that they had cause to be grateful for the success that had attended it; he did not perceive that the success was due to the foresight, the constant vigilance, and the unfaltering resolution of the commander of the expedition, Arthur Phillip. He was to have ample opportunities of discerning the part that the hero as colony-founder was to play. Twelve days after the arrival of the fleet in Sydney Cove Governor Phillip convoked his thousand subjects in the open, and Collins may have staged the piece that was then to be played. When civilians, marines, and convicts were gathered together under the bright-blue Australian sky, in a scene of great, now unrivalled, natural beauty—an Australian parallel to the legendary picture of the formation of human society and the fabled signing of the social compact—Judge-Advocate Collins was the chief executive officer and the Governor's right-hand man. He read aloud the royal commission appointing Phillip Captain-General (a title borrowed from the Spanish colonial administration), and Governor-in-Chief of the new settlement. He next read the Act of Parliament creating the colony. Probably, he did not read the other voluminous official documents setting up civil, criminal, and admiralty courts. He then listened to a speech befitting the historic occasion, of which we shall have more to say. Meanwhile, we may briefly describe his official position and the nature of his duties.

From the official correspondence of one of his successors, Richard Dore, with Governor Hunter we learn something of Collins's functions, hours of work, and scale of remuneration. He drew up protests, passed probate of wills, and issued letters of administration. He issued writs, drafted affidavits, sent out summonses for the Small-Debt Court, and summoned witnesses. These, however, were his extraordinary duties.\* His main tasks were different.

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\**Historical Records of New South Wales*, iii., 554-70.



As Judge-Advocate he held a very high position. We can clearly perceive—indeed, Governor Hunter explicitly states—that the presence of the Judge-Advocate was necessary to the constitution of a court of either civil or criminal jurisdiction, and all legal processes had to “pass under his hand and seal as a lawyer.” He was, in fact, Chief Justice of the Colony and at the same time County Court Judge and Resident Magistrate, with his personal clerk as Clerk of Court or “Master.” The office was still undifferentiated. The work in Collins’s time was light, and he attended to his duties only between the hours of eleven and one, while, only a few years later, a succeeding Judge-Advocate was kept at work from six in the morning till late at night. Evidently, litigation had increased, and all legal relations had become more complex.

In a letter addressed to the Governor, Collins pleaded for an adequate salary being given to him.\* His pay as Judge-Advocate, he stated, had been at the rate of ten shillings a day—a peculiar way of reckoning the salary of a high official, and resembling in form, as it equals in amount, the wage of a colonial carpenter now. As secretary to the Governor, he received five shillings per diem additional—a rate of wages that the Sydney bottle-oh men lately struck against. His half-pay as captain of marines was in abeyance while he held these offices. With the withdrawal of the marines at the end of 1791 or the beginning of 1792 Collins’s pay as Judge-Advocate to the regiment ceased (so he states); yet he continued to hold the office of Judge-Advocate in the Colony till he resigned it in 1796, and he must have been paid for his services. Indeed, we find from later documents that he was otherwise remunerated. He received £3 for a protest (with “an extra charge for extending the same”), together with £3 for every letter of administration, probate, will, etc. His writs, affidavits, and summonses were, all of them, we may be sure, paid for. Perhaps these fees were the only payment he received from 1792 onwards, as Judge-Advocate. On the title-page of the first volume of his “Account” he names himself, “Secretary of the Colony.” It was a high permanent office, and out of it grew the present office of Colonial Secretary, long held by the Premier, just as out of the office of secretary to the sovereign sprang the great office of Secretary of State. Doubtless the office was created for him, and an adequate salary then assigned him.

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\**Ibid.*, iii., 554-5.



Collins's collisions with other, chiefly military, officers, his worries, and, above all, his anxiety about his military rank made his continuance in the Colony irksome, and in December, 1792, he applied to Henry Dundas, then Secretary of State, to be relieved. Dundas was too well acquainted with the value of his services in a difficult position lightly to dispense with them,\* and it was not till September, 1796, that he was able to leave the Colony. He must have set about the composition of the work by which he will be known to posterity soon after his arrival in England, if indeed he did not beguile the tedium of the five months' voyage by devoting himself to a task that he must have long meditated.

The first volume of the work was published in 1798, and Collins might well believe that his task was at an end. Two years later he was placed in possession of abundant fresh materials by Captain Hunter, the second Governor. The idea then occurred to him that he might use the materials thus supplied in continuing his narrative. In 1802, accordingly, Collins published a second volume. Mr. Barton believes that the volume was written by Governor Hunter, who gladly seized the opportunity of vindicating his administration.† Collins himself states that it is founded on "authentic" materials, and he avows that they were furnished by Hunter. The narrative ends with the year 1800, and in 1800 Hunter left the Colony. Hunter's services, their kind and amount, are fully exhibited, and the most made of them. Hunter himself is, moreover, vindicated against certain charges that were made against his action as Governor. A personal note, as of an aggrieved man, is struck on many a page. It does not follow that Hunter wrote the volume. Mr. Barton admits that the resemblance between the first and second volumes in point of style is greater than the contrast, but he singularly explains the similitude by rashly asserting that Hunter found "no difficulty in adopting the melancholy air and manner which distinguished his predecessor." Is not this a fine example of reasoning in a circle? Hunter was no deft literary craftsman who could easily imitate any style. He was a member of a rather uncultivated profession, whose officers join their ships so early in life that they have hardly a chance of getting well educated; the Earl of Glasgow, an old salt, used to say that he "had never had

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\**Ibid.*, i., pt. ii., p. 674.

†*History of New South Wales from the Records*, i., 257-8.



any education." Hunter wrote as he could, and what he wrote was skilfully adapted by Collins, who naturally took the side of the Governor and identified himself with his policy, as he had done with that of Governor Phillip. The volume, we may well believe, was written by Collins, but was based on Hunter's MS., as Hawkesworth wove a decorous narrative out of Cook's MSS., and an unknown editor wrought up Phillip's despatches into a flowing narration. We have no difficulty in tracing Hunter's hand. There are sentences that look as if they had been but slightly turned—say, from the first person to the third. Some of them show a remarkable conversance with Hunter's thoughts and other mental processes. The Diocletian-like table of prices and wages is given as if by Hunter himself. And he winds up by saying that, when he left the Colony, the Governor's embarkation "was attended with every mark of respect." Just so did the recalled Governor console himself for conscious failure.

Collins's vindication of Hunter was sufficiently answered by Hunter's successor. "Vice in every shape," said Governor King, "appeared to be tolerated." Persons in authority "had been allowed to carry on the most oppressive monopolies, to the prejudice and ruin of the other description. . . . With its first founder (Governor Phillip) order and regularity left these shores. . . . Every disagreeable reform," he laments, "is left me to execute." A more scathing condemnation has seldom been passed upon a system of government. Hunter's own admission is the most damaging of charges. He confessed that he had "struggled in vain" to suppress the infamous spirit-trade. An "apology" (in the old sense of the word) that ineffectually vindicates a self-convicted Governor needs itself to be apologised for. As a historical work the second volume is not impartial.

Collins's ostensible reason for publishing the work was the honourable desire of obtaining for the infant colony "the candid consideration" of his "fellow-countrymen"; and the declaration is in perfect keeping with everything we know of the author's character. He wishes to remove the "odium and disgust" now aroused in their minds by the mention of the Colony. Anticipating a reproach that was to be flung at New South Wales for another century, and is even now flung by one angry colonist at another, he avowed that he was eager to wipe out the stigma of convictism branded on the Colony and on all who had been connected with it. Let that reproach,



he spiritedly says, light on the heads of those who have used it as such! These pages, he confesses, were written to demonstrate that the officials (he is evidently thinking of himself, but he was of too generous a disposition not to embrace the Phillips, Hunters, Kings, and the many other loyal servants of the Empire whom he had known) who had borne the heat and burden of that early day had not eaten the bread of idleness, but had deserved well of their country. His and their deserts were still greater than he knew. These faithful souls had solidly laid the foundations of one of the grandest commonwealths that have ever sprung from the loins of a free people.

Collins was careful to see that his work was preserved. He sent it to the press; he completed it by redacting materials received from a trustworthy source; and when the first edition was exhausted, he had an abridgment so satisfactorily made of it that it superseded the original. This recast of the work it is that is now deemed worthy of being reprinted. The author of it was Mrs. Maria Collins, evidently his wife. Whether she remained in England during his eight years' residence in New South Wales is not stated, and there is nothing in her preface to show that she had witnessed the events he described. But it is clear that, when he returned to the Antipodes, he left her behind him. She bemoans the melancholy things she is forced to relate, and deplores that he is now detained in like scenes. Mrs. Collins confessed that she was "ill calculated," meaning ill qualified, for the task, which she "performed with reluctance." It proved a disagreeable duty. There was scarcely a page but "gave birth" in her "to some uneasy sensations;" and her "mind was by turns a prey to terror and disgust."

Such moods must have been unfavourable to the accomplishment of her undertaking; yet it was very carefully executed. Nothing of the least importance has been omitted; yet the bulk of the work has been reduced by nearly one-half. The original work consists of two quarto volumes, the first with xxxviii + 617 pages, and the second with xvi + 336 pages; the abridged edition, also a quarto, has xvii + 562 pages. Only a few further reductions have been made by the present editor. The full and detailed Table of Contents prefixed to the volume and again to each chapter has been only half reproduced. The portion describing the voyage of Bass to Van Diemen's Land, and that narrating the discovery of Bass's



Straits by Bass and Flinders, have not been omitted, though they are no essential parts of the history of "The English Colony in New South Wales." The account given of the New Zealanders, derived from the MSS. of Governor King, is equally non-essential, but it has been retained because of its interest and value. Some *thrums* at the end, as Mr. Barrie would call them, have been cut off, as has likewise been the appended brief and imperfect, though meritorious, vocabulary of the language of the Australian natives. The descriptions accompanying 16 of the 34 engravings, which have been left out, have, of course, been omitted. No other omissions or excisions, save in the Brobdingnagian title-page, have been made.

Mrs. Collins's primary rule in making her abridgment was the right one. She left out all matter of transient or merely contemporary interest and which was, in her words, "no longer of importance." She had another rule that was as wrong as the other was right. She avows that she had omitted "only such parts as must, by the repetition of crimes and their punishments, become disgusting and tedious." Here she does herself less than justice. She omitted many other passages than these, including whole paragraphs of minor interest; but she is right: she does attempt to wipe out some of the convict stains that befoul the volume. A Bowdlerised history is a much more questionable thing than a Bowdlerised Shakspeare, and, had the omissions been as comprehensive as she implies, their occurrence would have affected the trustworthiness of the narrative. What she has really done is to lighten the sombre complexion the work receives at once from the melancholy humour of Collins and from his persistent detailing of convicts' offences and their punishments. A lack of moral perspective made Collins give to this class of facts an amount of space out of all proportion to their real importance, while he hurried over or altogether ignored events of the first consequence.

Her horror of the social environment did not paralyze the abridger's pen; her sentences are crisp, firm, precise, with nerves in them and a backbone, which they have not always in Collins's limper version. Collins had himself, to all appearance, supplied her with a model by commencing an abridgment, and possibly, in his example, she found authority for her considerable and, indeed, needless tamperings with the text. She holds in aversion the first personal pronoun in both numbers and in all its cases, and she will not allow her gallant



captain to speak his own name. Does he say? "I remember to have seen an account. . . ." That will not do at all, the modest Maria seems to feel, and she depersonalises the phrase into: "an account has appeared. . . ." Changes of phraseology have been made that will be considered improvements or otherwise, according to the taste of the reader. To replace, "towards the end of the year," by "near the end of the year," is to alter the meaning of the words. Short dramatic clauses are inserted, such as: "let the mocker ask. . . ," where Collins himself had been more straightforward. A greater unity is given to the work by the incorporation of the systematic account of the natives, dismissed to an appendix in the first volume, of an "advertisement" in the second volume, and of Everard Home's description of the Platypus, with the body of the work. In general, we may say that, while the omissions are judicious and absolutely strengthen the treatise, the alterations are often gratuitous. On the whole, Mrs. Collins has performed her uncongenial task to admiration. Seldom has a wife rendered a more signal service to her husband.

A few changes made by the printers deserve to be noted. Catchwords at the bottom of the page, surviving from the old days of parchment rolls, and still (or recently) in use in an old-fashioned review, disappear between the first and second editions; that was a sensible change that was accomplished in a space of six years. The frequent use of capitals in old books, still found in German substantives, is on the decline in the abridged edition, and "the Eastern Coast" of the first edition becomes "the east coast" of the second. The substitution of "governor" for "Governor" suggests transatlantic models. The punctuation, finally, has been improved.

Collins's work ranks with "The Voyage of Governor Phillip," Surgeon White's "Journal," and Captain Tench's "Narrative" and his later "Complete Account" as together composing a fourfold history of the foundations and early vicissitudes of the colony. Each contains something the others lack, or has it differently. Thus, the address spoken by Governor Phillip at the historical muster held twelve days after the disembarkation at Sydney Cove has to be put together from the various versions. The one in "Phillip's Voyage"—probably drawn up from Phillip's notes—is the fullest. Tench's report is the briefest, and Collins's, like White's, is imperfect. In each report certain identical features appear, while others omit what some include. None of them, it may



be mentioned, lend the least countenance to the oration ascribed to Phillip by Roderick Flanagan. In 1862 this obvious Hibernian published a "History of New South Wales" containing a more eloquent utterance than has, perhaps, ever been heard there save from the lips of Sir James Martin or Mr. Dalley. Were it a truthful report, it would convict our sacred four, Collins included, of inadequacy and incompetence. More happily, it is our quadripartite version that convicts Flanagan of deliberate invention. We need not ascribe to him a mendacious intention. Written some sixty years after the event by a historian whose early loss his publishers deplore, it has all the inward characteristics of a fabricated oration. Polished, symmetrical, rhetorical, and sometimes truly eloquent, it would have been altogether too magniloquent for the occasion, even had Phillips, an uncultured naval officer, been capable of producing it. Flanagan believed that he might legitimately supply speeches for his heroes (he had previously supplied one for Captain Cook), as Livy composed them for Roman consuls, and Macaulay for the Stuart statesmen, and Disraeli kindly wrote poetry for Byron and Shelley. It is strange that the fabrication should have imposed on the acuteness of Dr. Garrahan, who cites a glorious sentence from it in the "Picturesque Atlas," or been quoted in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales in 1886, as it was by the Premier, Sir Patrick Jennings. Neither seemed to have any doubt of its genuineness.

A journal kept by Collins was evidently at the base of his work, but it was transfused, polished, and converted into literature. The journals published by White, Trench, and Hunter, and the published journal of Southwell are often impromptu diarisings, and their literary value is variable. It was the day of journalising, for Governors Phillip and Hunter kept journals, and, besides those already mentioned, many officers named in "Phillip's Voyage" did likewise; but, among so many competitors, Collins's has survived in virtue of its fulness, its minute accuracy, its comparative literary distinction and its solid worth.\*

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\*Since this paragraph was written, the Editor has come to the conclusions that the bulk of the volume Collins first published was written from day to day when he resided in Sydney, and was printed substantially as it was written. Some of the grounds of these conclusions are given in the appended Notes.



Collins's work is not merely a legal history of a convict settlement; it is a general history of a new colony. He describes the incessant action of its Governor, the constitution of its civil and criminal courts (he is the only chronicler that does so), and their workings. It is only he who tells of the erection of an astronomical observatory for the observation of a comet. He it is who relates that buildings of all sorts were being put up, streets laid out, and a Government House designed; and we see the new city begin to arise before our eyes. He mentions seeming-trivial, yet in those days important, incidents, such as the escape of convicts from Parramatta, and their being picked up again afterwards. He notes the gradual decline of provisions, and realises the prospect of utter starvation that lay ahead of all. He records the arrival of "a person named Wentworth" (D'Arcy Wentworth) and, in the same ship, of John McArthur. He might have deemed the entries of more importance, could he have realised that McArthur was to found the pastoral industry which has made New South Wales "rich beyond the dreams of avarice," and that a son of Wentworth would endow the Colony with the constitution that made it opulent with a nobler inheritance. Collins may well claim that his book is unique.

We not only see a destined world-city arise before our eyes; we witness the rudiments of a new commonwealth, a living social organism, grow into fair proportions, show increased adaptation to its environment, develop new organs, incorporate new elements, exhibit fresh complications, strike deeper root in the soil, and expand in height and bulk. We witness the infant colony pass through some of the early phases common to all societies—the unbounded power of the ruler, the existence of the slave (this time in the form of a convict), the preponderance of the military element and the prevalence of martial law, the frequent consequent rebellions, the rude beginnings of agriculture (in the general use of the hoe and the slow adoption of the plough), the pre-existence of the pastoral stage and the foundation of a landed aristocracy, the beginnings of industry in the official fixing of wages and prices, the gradual extension of settlement along the banks of rivers, the swelling of the community by accretions from without, the nursing and support of the Colony by the Motherland (for we get, in Collins, no further than its infancy), and the slow emergence of its power of self-sustainment—all this we observe, and, had Collins been equal to his task, we might have seen



something more. What, indeed, we do discern is not seldom incidentally disclosed. Limited though it is, the record is still of priceless value to the historian and the sociologist, the patriotic Australian and the lover of humanity.

Not the least remarkable section of Collins's work is his account of the Australian aborigines. It was the first systematic description of them, and for a great many years it was the last. There is a very close resemblance between portions of it and the account given in Phillip's despatches. It is clear that they, with other British officers, observed together the things they described. He tells of the relations between them and the whites, and he states, with evident satisfaction, that, after many untoward occurrences and a considerable lapse of time, friendly relations had been again established. He incidentally relates how the blacks lived in the houses of the colonists and died there, acquired the English language, ate the same food, and wore the same clothing. In common with Phillip, Hunter, and Tench, Collins had formed a high opinion of them. In an elaborate appendix to the first volume of his work he describes the natives as they were—their appearance, their mutilations and their decorations, their characteristics (including their sexual modesty, their capacity for blushing), their man-making ceremonies—twice witnessed by Phillip and his officers—their other rites, their beliefs, their habits and usages. Not till the time of Grey and Eyre, it has been said with some exaggeration, was so lucid and systematic an account given.

If Collins's narrative is fairly complete, it is far from being exhaustive. His lacunæ are noticeable. First of all, he lacks an eye for the picturesque. He gives a good account of the disembarkation at Sydney Cove, but he has little to say of that world-wonder, the harbour, while to Phillip it appeared the finest in existence, though he was fresh from Rio; Tench, too, and, after him, Mrs. (Captain) Parker, gave a bright account of Sydney Cove and its natural beauty. He leaves Tench to tell of the discovery of the Nepean and of other explorations in 1789, 1790, 1791, while he dismisses the important discovery of the Hawkesbury in a brief paragraph, and he has otherwise nothing to say of the river which later observers, who were well acquainted with world-rivers, have compared, to its advantage, with the Rhine and the upper reaches of the Mississippi. Nor is there any but a passing reference to the genial climate, formed by the sun-bright skies and balmy air,



which make a residence on the coast of New South Wales an intoxication.

It is the mistake of a greater than Collins. Grote has written a history of Greece with no smallest perception that the incomparable climate, with the magic vistas it creates, the entrancing islands, the gulfs and the mountains, entered as a factor into Greek public life, its religion, its poetry, and its art; while Ernst Curtius has made of that climate and those surroundings the background and the key equally to the public and the private life of ancient Hellas.

While he briefly describes the performance of plays by the convicts, Collins in general makes life in the young colony too gloomy. His narrative resembles the early romances of Hawthorne, such as "The Scarlet Letter," and the flowers that in "Transformation" are wreathed around the same bare rafters are in Collins's work lacking. He omits the gaieties of the place, as Hawthorne does. Mrs. John McArthur tells of the constant picnics in Sydney Harbour. Though her spirits, she allowed, were low at the time of writing, she had "never been more happy." Life was not all sadness then, sombre though Collins's pages may be.\*

Collins's omissions are graver than these. He was thoroughly loyal to Phillip and was in perfect sympathy with him. Though he did not perceive his greatness, he recognised his judiciousness and admired his humanity. Yet it is charged against him† that he knew, but "abstained from publishing," facts that partly caused the retirement of Phillip. He passes over the obstacles thrown by Major Ross, Lieutenant-Governor, to the control of the convicts and the due administration of the law, but he deals out no reprobation to Ross for his perversities. It does not follow, as has been charged against him by Mr. Rusden,‡ that his sympathies were with Ross, whom he had little cause to love. It only means that Collins was somewhat of a time-server. He did not wish to damage his prospects of promotion. He admits that Major Grose, who administered the colony during the interregnum between the first Governor and the second, was lavish "far beyond what had been thought necessary in England" in supplying military officers with convict-labour. He even proceeds to vindicate them by boasting that the military and civil officers had, in

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\**Historical Records of New South Wales*, ii.

†Rusden, G. W., *History of Australia*, i., 163.

‡*Ibid.*, i., 170.



fifteen months, cleared more than half of the ground cleared by the Government and the settlers together, from the beginning till the end of Phillip's term. He omits all account of the differences between Lieutenant-Governor Grose and Captain King, in command at Norfolk Island. He cursorily mentions the mutiny in Norfolk Island, the consequent disarmament, and the inquiry subsequently held in Sydney. He avoids mentioning the displeasure of Grose, and the appeal to England. He could not plead ignorance. After acting as private secretary to Phillip, he acted as Secretary of the Colony, and the correspondence between Grose and King, as between Grose and the Secretary of State, must have passed through his hands. Yet, in his published narrative, he has never a word of censure for the high-handed military officer who administered the affairs of the Colony as if it were a regiment of the line.\* King found an immediate official vindicator in the Duke of Portland, Secretary of State; he had to wait for a literary vindicator till 1883, when Mr. Rusden made the damaging exposure.†

The occupation and settlement in New South Wales attracted the attention of all Northern Europe. All, or nearly all, of the first narratives of it were translated into French and German, Dutch and Swedish, sometimes repeatedly. Hardly did such a work leave the English press than it was issued simultaneously at Paris and Maestricht, Berlin and Nürnberg, Berlin and Hamburg, Hamburg and Nürnberg, and soon after at Stockholm. There appears to be no evidence that Collins's work was translated, and we cannot but marvel at the omission. Perhaps it was felt that the freshness had been taken from it by the prior publication of translations of "Phillip's Voyage" and of Hunter's, Tench's and White's journals.

Though never translated, the work did not escape notice in England. The "Edinburgh Review" was not then the collection of essays and dissertations that it has long been, with a list of nominally reviewed books at the beginning of each article, but was really a review devoted to literary and other criticisms, and its band of clever contributors was always on the look-out for new books to review. One of its best writers, Sydney Smith, seems to have felt a keen curiosity about New

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\*The present editor has here fallen into error. Collins virtually condemns Grose when he states the facts relating to the supersession of civil administration by martial law. See pp. 165-6 and note.

†*Ibid.*, i., 180-8.



South Wales, if not exactly a predilection for the somewhat unsavoury subject. Thrice he made it the theme of an article—once, when he reviewed Collins's "Account," again when he reviewed Commissioner Bigge's Report on the Governorship of Macquarie, and finally, when he reviewed Wentworth's "Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of New South Wales," and O'Hara's "History" of the Colony. The article on Collins was so much admired by the editor of Sydney Smith's works (in Longman's edition of 1840) that he twice reprinted it—once in the third volume, and again, by an extraordinary editorial blunder, in the fourth. It is a cool, unenthusiastic, slightly satirical account of a paradoxical community. The witty Canon of St. Paul's muses on "the ancient avocation of picking pockets" becoming popular through its "eventually leading to the possession of a farm of a thousand acres on the river Hawkesbury." Transportation, even "Mr. Sydney" is almost shocked to perceive, "is become one of the surest roads to honour and wealth." Yet he sarcastically queries whether "we shall receive an equivalent in bales of goods for the vices we export" to that "land of convicts and kangaroos." Collins's work he speaks of more gravely. It is "written with great plainness and candour": the author "appears to be a man always meaning well; of good, plain common-sense; and composed of those well-wearing materials which adapt a person for situations where genius and refinement would only prove a source of misery and error." Sydney Smith's delineation of Collins comes dangerously near describing him as a "well-meaning man," or a man who, intending the good, often accomplishes the evil, which was perhaps Collins's chief characteristic and his main failing. The "Quarterly Review" could not criticize the work when it appeared, for the periodical was not then in existence, but at a later date it wrote of the book as "a singularly curious and painfully interesting Journal, which may be considered as a sort of Botany Bay Calendar." So far and no further could the organ of Toryism penetrate into the significance of these instructive annals of a new Anglo-Saxon community. Plainly, the liberal-minded Whig was the more perspicacious of the two.

Those were days when French men-o'-war were hovering about the coasts of Australia on the pretext of making voyages of discovery and exploration, but also, the British suspected, with the possible object of annexing territory. Two or three



days after the arrival of the First Fleet at Botany Bay the ships commanded by the famous French navigator, La Pérouse, were deseried in the offing. Fifteen years later Admiral Baudin named a number of places on the southern coast of Australia and ran up the flag of France. Had he been more enterprising or more resolute, he might have annexed the territory now called Victoria, and thus created a New France side by side with a New England. As happened afterwards in Tasmania and New Zealand, the colonial authorities were on the alert, and Governor King advised the occupation of the harbour he had named Port Phillip, now Melbourne. The Home Government approved, and the old Judge-Advocate, who had for six years been resident in England, was in February, 1803, selected by Lord Hobart, Secretary of State as ægist of the new settlement. He had commended himself to the English Government by the efficiency with which he had filled the office of Judge-Advocate in New South Wales, and he had further recommended himself by his book on the English colony there, which was equally sympathetic and discreet—sympathetic with the objects and methods of the Government in Australia, and discreet in its handling of the relations between the two Governors and their Lieutenant-Governors and among the various officials.

In April, 1803, Collins left England, to which he was destined never to return. He and the *personnel* of the future colony were conveyed to Port Phillip in H.M.S. "Calcutta," commanded by Captain Woodruff, who intended to settle in the colony. Like New South Wales, of which it was made a dependency, the new settlement had a convict base. Almost 300 male convicts, with thirty of their wives and ten children, were to form the nucleus of the colony. A detachment of marines, 50 in number, with its subaltern officers, kept guard over the convicts and protected them against hostile natives. There was also a staff of civilian officers, including a designated Judge-Advocate. The machinery of a rude form of government, such as existed in New South Wales, was thus provided. The copious and stringent instructions given to Collins show that the foundation of a true colony was contemplated by the Home Government. He was directed to promote both pastoral and agricultural pursuits. Religious services were to be encouraged and observed. The importation of spirits was to be prohibited, and all such contraband destroyed.

After a voyage of nearly six months the "Calcutta" arrived at Port Phillip on October 9th, the storeship, "Ocean," having



preceded her by two days. On the morning after his arrival Collins set out himself, and he commissioned others, to examine all parts of the Bay. From his own observations and the reports of the officers he came to the conclusion that the proposed site of the colony was "unfit for settlement." It was situated in "a deep and dangerous bight," which is not deep at all, at least at its head, and is "dangerous" only from its few sunken rocks. The site of the projected settlement had still more serious faults. The soil all around was "sandy," and there was a great lack of fresh water. He could hardly be expected to know that, within no great distance, was situated one of the best farming districts of Australia. Collins made the mistake of forming his settlement on the eastern shore of Port Phillip (at what is now Sorrento), where the land is poor. Had he placed it on the western shore of the inlet, he would have found abundance of first-rate land, suited either for agriculture or pasture. But he is certainly to blame for not having discovered that a river as large as the Thames flowed into the bay. It would have made no difference, if he had. When Governor King sent him the chart drawn shortly before by Lieutenant Grimes, showing the course of the Yarra, he was unmoved. It only led him to discover a still more formidable obstacle. The natives were there in such numbers that it was unsafe to remain. Winding up, he launched a prophecy that has been wildly falsified by the event. "Every day's experience convinces me," he told Governor King, "that it cannot, nor ever will be, resorted to by speculative men. . . It cannot be supposed that commercial men will be desirous of visiting Port Phillip." Melbourne in the sixties, still more than Melbourne in the units, might smile at the unfortunate prophecy.

The reports of the surveyors, Grimes, Robbins, and Harris, being to much the same effect, Governor King had no alternative but to admit that the bay was "totally unfit for settlement." Could he have sent to Port Phillip an officer with nerve and grit, Victoria might have been settled thirty-three years earlier. The Victorians appear to have forgiven the weak-knee'd official who committed that worst of Roman offences by "despairing of the Commonwealth," and they have followed Sir Richard Bourke in naming after their ækist *manqué* the chief business street in the once-would-be-queen of Australia. Perhaps they are grateful to him for saving Victoria from the threatened stigma of being, like its rival New South Wales, a colony of convict origin.



It is difficult to repress a feeling of contempt for the high official whose spirit succumbed before obstacles that were, not indeed trivial, but also not insuperable. We will not charge him with moral cowardice. It was simply that, he could not, as the Scots say, "put a stout heart to a stiff brae." His position and his task in the future Victoria were far easier than Phillip's had been in New South Wales. He was supported by a strong Governor-in-Chief at Sydney, his military force, and an established civil government. Ships were now regularly sailing between Port Phillip and Port Jackson, and between England and Australia. The whole force of the Empire, now awake to its responsibilities and its privileges at the Antipodes, was at his back. After a year's unrelenting toil, he would have succeeded. It was not in him to succeed. The heart of a woman, could he have read in it what she wrote, might have nerved him to fulfil his mission. The wife of an officer in his marines writes tenderly of the beauty of Port Phillip, and deeply regrets the pusillanimity of Collins in deserting it. Her pen "is not able to describe half the beauties of that delightful spot." The three months she remained there, she "never felt an ache or pain," and she "parted from it with more regret than" she did from her native land. Had Collins taken out with him his clear-headed and capable wife, he might have succeeded where he failed.

His heart was elsewhere. Governor Phillip had inwardly resolved, before ever he left England, that he would remove the settlement from Botany Bay to Sydney Cove, if he should find the harbour more suitable for colonisation; and his foresight proved as remarkable as his wisdom. So had Collins from the first meditated removing from Port Phillip to Van Diemen's Land. To Van Diemen's Land he accordingly sailed, with his convicts, his few civilians, and his detachment of marines. There, however, he was an interloper. The necessity of barring the door against the French compelled the British Government to occupy the Derwent, and a naval officer, Lieutenant Bowen, had before been sent to the island by Governor King to form a settlement. He had made a good beginning, and was judiciously ruling his little colony. Then came Collins, in February, 1804, to reap where he had not sown. After some delay, Bowen reluctantly yielded to his supplanter, magnanimously refusing all reward for his real services. Collins succeeded in founding a new settlement, but in so small an area he could never win the success he might have had on the larger field he had pusillanimously quitted.



Having found an arena that was to his liking, Collins acted with vigour and discernment. If we cannot, with Mr. David Blair, acknowledge his "great governing abilities" or, with the Victorian journalist, place him "on the roll of heroes," we may cheerfully admit that he was "earnest and upright." Of the genuine interest he took in the prosperity of his settlement we catch a glimpse through the eyes of Joseph Holt, a leader of the "United Irish" in 1798, and commander of the rebel army at Wexford, who had been transported to New South Wales. In 1804 he was "a principal promoter of the late insurrection" in Sydney, according to Governor King, who sent him to Norfolk Island. Feeling himself misplaced in that inferno of convictism, he applied for permission to settle at Hobart, and, as Collins approved, King gave his consent to the transference. Of course, on his arrival, the Irish rebel paid his respects to the Lieutenant-Governor and speedily won his sympathy. Collins was "sorry to hear of the severe conduct of Governor King" and declared that Colonel Foveaux's treatment of him was unpardonable. Holt took a pessimistic view of his fortunes, saying that, if the storm which produced misfortune was a thousand miles away, it was yet sure to burst over his head and strike him down to earth with its lightning. Collins pleonastically replied: "You have a just right to say so." Referring, doubtless, to the latter officer, Holt remarked that "a smiling face often disguised a villain," as Shakspeare observed that "a man may smile and smile and be a villain," to which Collins sententiously rejoined: "Your observation is perfectly correct. You are, I perceive, a moralist." Collins did more than praise his borrowed aphorism; he employed Holt, an old farmer, to examine the root-crops and the stock of the Government and the settlers—a task which he executed (he assured Collins) in order "to evince my respect for the character of Colonel Collins." Collins must have been at this time camping out, for he made Holt "remain a good while in his tent," and entertained him with two glasses of wine.\*

Collins's person is described as handsome; and in his portrait he has fine eyes and a frank, open countenance; while his conciliatory manners, which doubtless smoothed over many a difficulty, sprang from genuine kindness of heart. Universally popular, he was acknowledged "to have been the friend and father of all." To believe Joseph Holt, he "had the good

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\* *Memoirs of Joseph Holt*, edited by T. Crofton Croker, ii., 242-52.



will, the good wishes, and the good word of every one in the settlement." In spite of Mr. Rusden's unworthy insinuation,\* his conduct is admitted to have been exemplary. He was almost quixotically merciful. His treatment of the convicts of Van Diemen's Land anticipated the behaviour of Bishop Myriel to Jean Valjean, and would have made Victor Hugo weep for joy. Joseph Holt shall tell the tale:—

"He would go into the forests, among the natives, to allow these poor creatures, the runaways, an opportunity of returning to their former condition; and, half dead with cold and hunger, they would come and drop on their knees before him, imploring pardon for their behaviour. 'Well,' he would say to them, 'now that you have lived in the bush, do you think the change you made was for the better? Are you sorry for what you have done?' 'Yes, sir.' 'And will you promise me never to go away again?' 'Never, sir.' 'Go to the storekeeper, then,' the benevolent Collins would say, 'and get a suit of slops and your week's rations, and then go to the overseer and attend to your work. I give you my pardon; but remember that I expect you will keep your promise to me.'"<sup>†</sup>

His humane policy was apparently justified by its results. Holt was "assured that there was less crime and much fewer faults committed among the people under Governor Collins than in any other settlement." We need not inquire whether the commendation was entirely earned. It is a fact that the convict settlement at Port Arthur, doubtless reinforced by convicts of a more degraded type, became such a hell as Marcus Clarke, founding on official documents, too realistically depicted in his famous fiction.

Whether Collins was as successful with the natives as he apparently was with the convicts, it is not easy to make out. Mr. Rusden, who has not forgiven him for abandoning Port Phillip, asserts that he never gained the authority over them that Governor Phillip acquired. But it is to be observed that the chief troubles arose at the northern extremity of the island, where another officer was administrator, and it is there that he is held to have conspicuously failed. In the south of the Island, where he himself resided, he certainly practised, and with manifest success, the policy he had imbibed from his old master. Firmness relieved by humanity was Phillip's motto; humanity first and firmness afterwards would better express Collins's maxim. The worst troubles with the natives arose after his death, when the expansion of settlement brought the colonists into inevitable collision with the natives.

\*Rusden, G. W., *History of Australia*, i. 502.

<sup>†</sup>*Memoirs of Joseph Holt*, ii., 253-5.



One lesson he certainly learned from Phillip. Phillip's ideal was also his. In Van Diemen's Land Collins sought to build up such a community—consisting of free settlers sprinkled over a convict base—as he had seen Phillip attempt to rear in New South Wales. This is eminently the character of Tasmania to this day. Left aside in an eddy by the stream of immigration, which there found no rich goldfields to flood with a rough but vigorous population, it has remained tinged with convictism to an extent greater than exists in any other of the Australasian colonies, but yet, in point of respectability, political sobriety, and law-abidingness, it will bear comparison with any British colony or with any civilised people. It is a pattern society.

Collins's last days were not free from trouble. In 1809 Governor Bligh, of New South Wales, was deposed by a military junta, and, having been rashly given the command of a man-o'-war, he sailed to Hobart. There the Lieutenant-Governor, still ignorant of the circumstances, received the Governor-in-Chief with deference and treated him with respect. Then came despatches from Sydney that changed the situation. Collins acted promptly and with decision. He refused to recognise his deposed chief, who then retreated to his ship; and he forbade communications being held with Bligh or provisions supplied to him. Two of Collins's subjects nevertheless did both, though Collins upbraided those who believed that Bligh was still Governor.

The historian of Tasmania (the Rev. J. West) reports, and Mr. David Blair repeats the statement, that these embarrassments were believed to have hastened Collins's end, but the assertion is probably unfounded. He still had energy enough to battle, not only against Bligh, but against Bligh's successor, Macquarie. That masterful and eccentric Governor seems also to have found his lieutenant rebellious and strove to repress his velleities of independence. In a despatch he even advised that Collins should be recalled. A higher taskmaster withdrew the harassed Governor from a difficult position. Without any previous illness, and after a slight cold that confined him to the house for a few days, he suddenly passed away. Men have died under almost all conceivable circumstances. Cabinet and Privy Councillors have died sitting at the council board. Legislators have died (in older and in quite recent days) while addressing the House of Lords or the House of Commons. Many ministers of the Gospel have died in the pulpit, and an archbishop has died in the vestry. Professors have died in the



lecture-room, and authors at their desk. Men and women have died on their knees in prayer, and others have dropped dead at evening parties. Collins died, like many another, seated in his chair, while conversing with a visitor. On March the 24th, 1810, at the early age of fifty-six, after ruling for six years, David Collins passed away amid universal regret. He was buried in the churchyard of the church that was to be named after him, and 600 persons—the bulk of the free population of Hobart—attended his funeral.

Ten years after his death Collins was strangely canonized. The Church of Rome takes many years, and sometimes centuries, to canonize a saint; it hears protracted pleadings in his (or her) behalf and listens impartially to the *advocatum Diaboli* against the candidate. Things are managed at once more expeditiously and less judicially in Australia. In 1802 Governor King made saints of the first two Governors of New South Wales, and directed that two parishes and churches should be named St. Phillip and St. John, after the first and second Governors of the Colony, Arthur Phillip and John Hunter. Following this example, Mr. Sorell, Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land, in 1820, directed that the church (now the cathedral) of Hobart should be named St. David's, after the reputed founder of the settlement. In this case Mr. Rusden plays the part of Devil's Advocate. He reprehends Collins's inefficiency as Judge-Advocate in New South Wales, his cowardly abandonment of Port Phillip, and the feebleness of his administration of Van Diemen's Land; he also bears hardly upon the lack of merited condemnation in his historical work. Not content with this broad indictment, he upbraids his softness and effusiveness with the convicts, and he appears to insinuate that his personal character was bad, when he only means that it was weak. Posterity has scarcely agreed with him. Collins is truly canonized in the memories of Tasmanians. In 1838 Governor Sir John Franklin unveiled a monument to him at Hobart. A more ubiquitous and a still more durable memorial has been raised by himself in his "Account of the English Colony in New South Wales." Of it Mr. Crofton Croker has well written that it "will be read and referred to as a book of authority as long as the colony exists whose name it bears."\* No truer prophecy, no apter eulogy could have been penned.

Sydney, N.S.W.,

April 23, 1910.

J.C.

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\**Memoirs of Joseph Holt*, ii. 254. The passage was apparently written by Croker.





## PREFACE.

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The author of the History of the English Colony in New South Wales, having been flattered by the idea that a second edition of that work would not prove unacceptable to the public, and feeling it incumbent on him to show the grateful sense which he entertained of the favourable reception of the first, had for some time deliberated on the propriety of giving the new edition in a form which, without lessening the interest of the work, might render it less expensive to the purchaser. A careful abridgment appeared most likely to answer the end desired; as much of the matter contained in the first publication was now no longer of importance: though at that period curiosity was awake to the most trivial circumstance occurring in a new world, where the actions of two distinct sets of people were to appear in contrast; the one, the children of rude uncultivated nature, just entering upon the stage; the other, the disciples of vice in its most refined state, driven from more polished scenes.

The publishers having concurred with the author in this opinion, he was proceeding in the execution of his plan; when an appointment from his Sovereign called him to fulfil its duties in a distant country.

Thus situated, he prevailed on me to undertake a task for which I felt myself but ill calculated; a task that I have performed with reluctance, and which nothing but the desire of complying with his wish could have induced me to perform at all. An early suspicion, that the deep interest which I had in the narrator would, if it did not impede my progress, at least render it painful, was fully verified. Scarcely a page was examined, which did not give birth to some uneasy sensation: and my mind was by turns a prey to terror and disgust. It cannot be matter of wonder, that, beholding my fellow-creatures so lost to every sense of feeling, so sunk in hopeless depravity, as to prefer their former evil courses, when even temptation had ceased to hold out a lure, and when comfort and competence were the probable, if not certain



rewards of a different conduct, created in my bosom a degrading idea of the human heart, and led me to tremble at the recollection that the historian, whose faithful records had given birth to those sensations, might at that very hour be exposed to the same evils and the same perils which he had but too recently experienced. That this should be possible, did, indeed, fill me with astonishment, and compelled me to condemn the temerity which could a second time forgo every earthly enjoyment, a second time to encounter each species of hardship, and all the various dangers so certainly attendant upon those who explore new and distant climes; a sacrifice for which no reward however liberal, no praise however loud, could offer any adequate recompense.

From the performance of my laborious task I can claim no other praise than that to which a perseverance in what was irksome may be thought to entitle me; though to the best of my judgment I have rendered the abridgment as perfect as it could be; having been careful to insert all that could interest the general class of readers, and to omit only such parts as must, by a repetition of crimes and their punishment, with the oft-repeated regulations and laws consequent thereto, become distressing or tedious. Yet enough of the former still remains, to convince every reflecting mind of the wisdom which dictated the relieving their country from a set of people so hostile to the interests and safety of its more worthy inhabitants. Nor can the specimens here given of incurable depravity fail to convince the most violent opposers of the colonising system of its necessity; or at least to fill them with gratitude to that government which has, by removing such numbers of unprincipled people, endeavoured to protect them from depredation and violence.

Were the unhappy culprits but for one moment to reflect, they would themselves acknowledge, that in the administration of justice mercy has not been forgotten; many of their lives had paid the forfeit of their crimes, but for this timely interference of the lenity of that country whose laws they had defied, of that country whose disgrace and scourge they had been; and which, in their extremity, had stretched forth an arm to save them by a banishment at once salutary to their fellow-citizens and to themselves. To have permitted them to live, and to remain amid their former haunts, would have been compelling them to live in guilt; for in what other



manner, however well disposed, could they preserve that life which, in this case, it would have been inhumanity to have granted? No ear would listen to, no mind would credit, the tale of their repentance: with every heart and every door closed against them, whither could they turn, but to the self-same enormities which had subjected them to this mockery of mercy? From exile, if they have anything to lose, they have much to hope; they are removed from temptation; and with the necessities of life they are provided, until such time as they shall prove that they are deserving of further favour; when no encouragement is withheld that can contribute to their present comfort, or confirm them in the path of rectitude. They are pointed out as examples for others; in the lapse of time their former degradation is forgotten, and they become respectable members of society. Alas! how deeply does the abridger of the present narrative regret that so very few instances have occurred of this return to peace, to honour; to the praise of man, or the pardon of their offended God!

MARIA COLLINS.







# An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales.

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## CHAPTER I.

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The Commissioners of His Majesty's navy, towards the end of the year 1786, advertised for a certain number of vessels to be taken up for the purpose of conveying between seven and eight hundred male and female felons to Botany Bay, in New South Wales, on the eastern coast of New Holland; whither it had been determined by government to transport them, after having sought in vain upon the African coast for a situation possessing the requisites for the establishment of a colony.

Six transports and three store-ships\* were accordingly engaged to convey the persons designed to form the new settlement, with the stores and provisions necessary for their use and consumption. Of the latter, sufficient for two years were put on board; and among the former, were tools, implements of agriculture, and such other articles as were considered necessary to a colonial establishment.

The government of the colony was intrusted by His Majesty to Arthur Phillips, Esq., a post-captain in the service, who hoisted his pendant on board the "Sirius," a ship which mounted only twenty guns, but which from the strength of her construction (having been built for the East-India Company's service) was judged to be well calculated for such an expedition.

Associated with her in the service of the colony, was the "Supply" brig, the command of which was given to Lieutenant

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\*The "Alexander," "Scarborough," "Charlotte," "Lady Penrhyn," "Prince of Wales," and "Friendship," transports; the "Fishburn," "Borrowdale," and "Golden Grove," store-ships.



Henry Lidgbird Ball; and it being thought necessary to appoint another captain to the "Sirius," who should command her on any service in which she might be employed for the colony, while Captain Phillip should be engaged in his government, an order was signed by His Majesty in council, directing the Admiralty Board to appoint John Hunter, Esq., then a commander in the navy, to be second captain of the "Sirius," with the rank of post.

Distributed amongst the transports, and in the "Sirius," was a body of 160 marines, with such a number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers as the service for which the corps was selected required\*. The convicts, for whose disposal this speculation was undertaken, consisted of 565 men and 192 women; and every necessary arrangement having been made by the naval and military commanders, which seemed best calculated to ensure a fortunate termination to the voyage, on Sunday, the 13th of May, 1787, the little fleet, which had previously collected at the Mother Bank, sailed with a leading wind through the Needle Passage, accompanied by the Honourable Captain De Courcy, in the "Hyæna" frigate.

As this ship was to proceed with the fleet only to a certain latitude, she soon quitted it, and this band of adventurers were left to pursue their way to the Island of Teneriffe, which port they shortly after reached. The ships were immediately moored, the masters taking the precaution of buoing their cables with empty casks, to prevent their being injured by rocks or foul ground; an inconvenience which had been frequently experienced by navigators in this road.

His Excellency the Marquis de Branceforte, the governor of the island, politely offering Captain Phillip whatever assistance he might need, and that was in his power to furnish, the provisioning and watering of the fleet was soon completed, and at the end of a week it again put to sea.

Nothing remarkable occurred during their stay here, except the desertion of John Powers, one of the convicts, who was however, by the activity of the master of the transport in which he had embarked (a penalty of forty pounds being the forfeiture on his entire escape) and a party of marines, soon

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\*One major commandant, 4 captains, 12 lieutenants, 12 sergeants, 12 corporals, 8 drummers, and 160 privates, with an adjutant and quartermaster.



recovered and sent on board his ship, with directions for his being heavily ironed.

While light airs detained the fleet between the Islands of Teneriffe and the Grand Canary, they had a fine view of the celebrated Peak of Teneriffe, lifting its venerable and majestic head above the neighbouring hills, many of which were of considerable height, and perhaps rather diminished the grandeur of the Peak itself, the altitude of which was understood to be 15,396 feet, only 148 yards short of three miles.

The passage of the fleet to Rio de Janeiro was performed without any material accident in eight weeks, and had fortunately been unattended with any disease, the surgeon reporting that they had brought in only 95 sick, comprehending every description of persons in the fleet. Many, however, of this number were bending only under the pressure of age and attendant infirmities, having no other complaints among them.

During their stay in this port, which was about a month, the convicts were each served daily with a pound of rice, and a pound and a half of fresh meat (beef), together with a suitable proportion of vegetables. Great numbers of oranges (a fruit with which the place abounded) were at different times distributed among them; and every possible care was taken to refresh and put them into a state of health and condition to resist the attacks of the scurvy, should it make its appearance in the long passage over the ocean which was yet between them and New South Wales. Their morals had been also attended to by the reverend Mr. Johnson, the chaplain of the colony, who performed divine service on board of two of the transports every Sunday while they remained here.

The next and last port of refreshment at which the fleet was to stop, was the Cape of Good Hope. Thither it bent its course, on quitting Rio de Janeiro; and in the short space of five weeks and four days crossed over from one continent to the other, a distance of upwards of eleven hundred leagues, fortunately without separation, or any accident having happened.

Here it was intended to lay in such articles of stores and provisions as had not been purchased in England; under the idea that, from their being a less time at sea, they would



arrive in higher preservation than they would have done had they been put on board in the river.

With a requisition made by Captain Phillip, of a certain quantity of flour and corn, the governor, M. Van de Graaf, expressed his apprehensions of being unable to comply, as the Cape had been lately visited by that worst of scourges, a famine, which had been most severely felt by every family in the town, his own not excepted. Captain Phillip's request was, however, laid before the council, without whose concurrence in such a business the governor could not act; and in a few days he was informed, that every article which he had demanded was ordered to be furnished.

So soon as the transports were properly prepared for their reception, the stock intended for the colony was embarked; viz., 1 bull, 1 bull-calf, 7 cows, 1 stallion, 3 mares, and 3 colts; together with as great a number of rams, ewes, goats, boars, and breeding sows, as room could be provided for.

As it was earnestly wished to introduce the fruits of the Cape into the new settlement, Captain Phillip was ably assisted in his endeavours to procure the rarest and the best of every species, both in plant and seed, by Mr. Mason, the King's Botanist, as well as by Colonel Gordon, at that time the commander-in-chief of the troops at the Cape; a gentleman whose thirst for knowledge amply qualified him to be of service to the colonists, not only in procuring a great variety of the best seeds and plants, but in pointing out the culture, the soil, and the proper time of introducing them into the ground\*.

The following plants and seeds were procured at the Cape and at Rio de Janeiro.

At Rio de Janeiro:—Coffee, both seed and plant; cocoa, in the nut; cotton, seed; banana, plant; oranges, various sorts, both seed and plant; lemon, seed and plant; guava, seed; tamarind; prickly pear, plant with the cochineal on it; eugenia, or pomme-rose,—a plant bearing a fruit in shape like an apple, and having the flavour and odour of a rose; ipecacuanha, three sorts; jalap.

At the Cape of Good Hope:—The fig tree; bamboo; Spanish reed; sugar cane; vines, of various sorts; quince; apple; pear; strawberry; oak; myrtle.

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\*It is with regret the author is obliged to close this mention of such a valuable man, by stating that he fell a sacrifice to the party which prevailed at the time when the English forces took possession of the Cape.



During the stay of the fleet at the Cape, Captain Hunter determined the longitude of the Cape-Town in Table-Bay to be, by the mean of several sets of lunar observations taken on board the "Sirius,"  $18^{\circ} 23' 55''$  east from Greenwich.

Having remained in this last port of refreshment just four weeks, and everything being arranged for its departure, the fleet proceeded with a fair wind towards New South Wales, the place of its final destination.

It was natural for the thinking part of the colonists to indulge at this moment a melancholy reflection which obtruded itself upon the mind. The land behind them was the abode of a civilised people; that before them was the residence of savages: when, if ever, they might again enjoy the commerce of the world, was very uncertain. The refreshments and pleasures of which they had so liberally partaken at the Cape, were to be exchanged for coarse fare and hard labour at New South Wales. All communication with families and friends now cut off, they were leaving the world behind them, to enter on a state unknown; and, as if it had been necessary to imprint this idea more strongly on their minds, at the close of the evening of the day on which they sailed, they spoke a ship from London\*. The metropolis of their native country, its pleasures, its wealth and its consequence, thus accidentally presented to the mind, failed not to afford a most striking contrast with the object then principally in their view.

For several days after they had sailed, the wind was unfavourable, and blowing fresh with much sea, some time elapsed before they had reached to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. This having at length accomplished, Captain Phillip, embarking in the "Supply," proceeded forward accompanied by the "Scarborough," "Alexander," and "Friendship" transports. On board of these three ships was the greater part of the male convicts, whom Captain Phillip had sanguine hopes of employing to much advantage, before the "Sirius," with that part of the fleet which was to remain under Captain Hunter's direction, should arrive upon the coast. He was also attended by Major Ross, the commandant of the marine detachment (and lieutenant-governor of the settlement), together with the adjutant and quarter-master, in order to co-operate with him in his intention of preparing,

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\*"The Kent," Southern Whaler.



as far as time might allow, for the reception of the rest of the convoy. But when the "Sirius" anchored in Botany Bay, Captain Hunter was informed that the "Supply" had preceded him in his arrival only two days; and the three transports, under the agent, Lieutenant Shortland, had gained but one day of the "Sirius" and her convoy, most of which began to grow foul long before their arrival, not one of them being coppered.

Thus, under the blessing of God, was happily completed in eight months and one week (the whole fleet being safe at anchor on the 20th January, 1788) a voyage which, before it was undertaken, the mind hardly dared venture to contemplate, and on which it was impossible to reflect without some apprehension as to its termination. In the course of that time they had sailed five thousand and twenty-one leagues; had touched at the American and African continents; and had at last rested within a few days sail of the Antipodes of their native country, without meeting any accident in a fleet of eleven sail, nine of which were merchantmen that had never before sailed in that distant and imperfectly explored ocean; and when it was considered that there was on board a large body of convicts, many of whom were embarked in a very sickly state, they might be deemed peculiarly fortunate, that of the whole number of all descriptions of persons coming to form the new settlement, only thirty-two had died since their leaving England, among whom were to be included one or two deaths by accident; although previous to their departure, it had been conjectured that before they should have been a month at sea, one of the transports would have been converted into a hospital ship. Fortunately, however, it happened otherwise. Their provisions were excellent, and they had all partaken liberally of refreshments at the Cape of Good Hope and Rio de Janeiro.

The governor had employed the short time which he had gained in examining the bay; but on their arrival he had not seen any spot to which some strong objection did not apply. If in one place he met with a promising soil, it was deficient in that grand essential, fresh water, and was besides too confined for their numbers. He therefore determined on examining the adjacent harbours of Port Jackson and Broken Bay; and for that purpose set off the day following the arrival



of the "Sirius" and her convoy, in three open boats accompanied by some of the officers of the settlement.

The coast as he drew near Port Jackson wore a most unpromising appearance, and the natives everywhere greeted the little fleet with shouts of defiance and prohibition, the words "Warra warra," Go away, go away, resounding wherever they appeared. The Governor's utmost expectation, as he drew near the harbour, being to find what Captain Cook, as he passed it by, thought might be found, shelter for a boat; he was most agreeably surprised at discovering, on his entrance, a harbour capable of affording security for a much larger fleet than would probably ever seek shelter or security within its limits.

In one of the coves of this noble and capacious harbour, he determined to fix the future seat of his government, it having been found to possess a sufficiency of water and soil. Having completed his research in three days, he returned to Botany Bay, and gave directions for an immediate removal thence; a circumstance which gave general satisfaction, as nothing had been discovered in that place which could excite a wish to pass another day in it. This removal would have taken place in the morning following his return; but at daylight they were surprised by the appearance of two strange sail in the offing. Various were the conjectures of what nation these could be, and whence they had arrived. It was soon known, however, that they were two French ships "La Boussole" and "L'Astrolabe," under the command of M. de la Pérouse, then on a voyage of discovery.

As Captain Hunter, with whom the Governor had left the charge of bringing the "Sirius" and transports round to Port Jackson (whither he had preceded them in the "Supply"), was working out when M. de la Pérouse entered Botany Bay, the two commanders had barely time to exchange civilities; and it must naturally have created some surprise in the French to find the English fleet abandoning the harbour at the very time when they were preparing to anchor in it: indeed M. de la Pérouse afterwards said, that "until he had looked round him in Botany Bay, he could not divine the cause of their quitting it; having expected, from the intelligence given him at Kamschatka, to have found a town built and a market established; but by what he had already seen of the country he was convinced of the propriety and



absolute necessity of the measure." The countrymen of Captain Cook had the gratification of hearing this gentleman pay more than one tribute of applause to the accuracy of his nautical observations.

Governor Phillip, with a party of marines and some artificers, arrived in Port Jackson, and anchored off the mouth of the Cove intended for the settlement, on the evening of the 25th; and in the course of the following day, sufficient ground was cleared for encamping the officer's guard, and the convicts who had landed in the morning. The spot chosen for this purpose was at the head of the Cove near a run of fresh water, which stole silently through a very thick wood, the stillness of which had then, for the first time since the creation, been interrupted by the rude sound of the labourer's axe, and the downfall of its ancient inhabitants:—a stillness and tranquillity which, from that day, were to give place to the noise of labour, the confusion of camps and towns, and the busy hum of its new possessors. That the greater part of these did not bring with them

"Minds not to be changed by time or place,"

was fervently to have been wished; and, if it were possible, that on taking possession of Nature, as they had thus done, in her simplest, purest garb, they might not sully that purity by the introduction of vice. But this, though most desirable, was little to be expected;—the habits of youth are not easily laid aside; and the utmost that they could hope in their present situation was, to oppose the soft harmonising arts of peace and civilisation to the baneful influence of vice and immorality.

In the evening of this day, the whole of the party then present were assembled at the point where they had first landed in the morning, and on which a flag-staff had been purposely erected, and a union jack displayed; when the marines fired several volleys; between which the healths of His Majesty and the Royal Family, with success to the new colony, were most cordially drunk. The day, which had been extremely fine, concluded with the safe arrival of the "Sirius" and the convoy from Botany Bay,—thus terminating the voyage with the same good fortune which had from its commencement been so conspicuously their friend and companion.



The disembarkation of the troops and convicts took place from the following day, until the whole were landed. The confusion that ensued will not be wondered at, when it is considered, that every man stepped from the boat literally into a wood. Parties of people were everywhere heard and seen variously employed; some in clearing ground for the different encampments; others in pitching tents, or bringing up such stores as were more immediately wanted; and the spot which had so lately been the abode of silence and tranquillity was now changed to that of noise, clamour, and confusion: but after a time, order gradually prevailed. As the woods were opened and the ground cleared, the various encampments were extended, and all wore the appearance of regularity and decorum.

A portable canvas-house, brought over for the Governor, was erected on the east side of the Cove (which was named Sydney), where a small body of convicts were put under tents. The detachment of marines was encamped at the head of the Cove near the stream; and on the west side was placed the main body of the convicts. Every person belonging to the settlement being landed, the numbers amounted to 1030 persons. The tents for the sick were placed on the west side; and it was observed, with concern, that their numbers were fast increasing. The scurvy, that had not appeared during the passage, now broke out; which, aided by a dysentery, began to fill the hospital, and several died. In addition to the medicines that were administered, every species of esculent plants that could be found in the country were procured for them: wild celery, spinach, and parsley, fortunately grew in great abundance: those who were in health, as well as the sick, were very glad to introduce them into their messes, and found them a pleasant as well as wholesome addition to the ration of salt provisions.

The public stock, consisting of one bull, four cows, one bull-calf, one stallion, three mares, and three colts, was removed to a spot at the head of the adjoining Cove, which was cleared for a small farm, intended to be placed under the direction of a person brought out by the Governor.

Some ground having been prepared near His Excellency's house on the east side, the plants from Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope were safely brought on shore; and the new settlers soon had the satisfaction of seeing the grape, the fig,



the orange, the pear, and the apple, those delicious fruits of the Old, taking root and establishing themselves in their New World.

As soon as the hurry and tumult necessarily attending the disembarkation had a little subsided, the Governor caused His Majesty's commission, appointing him to be his captain-general and governor-in-chief in and over the territory of New South Wales and its dependencies, to be publicly read, together with the letters-patent for establishing the courts of civil and criminal judicature in the territory. The ceremony of reading these public instruments having been performed by the judge-advocate, the Governor, addressing the convicts, assured them, among other things, that "he should ever be ready to show approbation and encouragement to those who proved themselves worthy of them by good conduct; while, on the other hand, such as were determined to act in opposition to propriety, would inevitably meet with the punishment that they deserved." He remarked how much it was their interest to forget the habits of vice and indolence in which too many of them had hitherto lived; and exhorted them to be honest among themselves, obedient to their overseers, and attentive to the several works in which they were about to be employed.

The convicts had been mustered early in the morning, when nine were reported to be absent. From the situation which had been unavoidably adopted, it was impossible to prevent these people from straggling. Fearless of the danger which must attend them, many had visited the French ships in Botany Bay, soliciting to be taken on board. It was soon found, that they had secreted at least one-third of their working-tools, and that any sort of labour was with difficulty procured from them.

The want of proper overseers principally contributed to this misconduct; those who were placed over them as such having been selected from among themselves for their good behaviour during the voyage, and few of them choosing to exert the authority requisite to keep the gangs at their labour. Petty thefts among themselves began to be complained of; and the sailors from the transports, although repeatedly forbidden, and frequently punished, still persisted in bringing spirits on shore by night, of which drunkenness was often the consequence.



To check these enormities, the court of criminal judicature was assembled on the 11th of February; when three prisoners were tried, one of whom received one hundred and fifty lashes, and a second was confined for a week upon a small rocky island on bread and water.

The mildness of these punishments seemed rather to have encouraged than deterred others; for before the month was ended, the criminal court was again assembled for the trial of four offenders, who had conceived and executed a plan for robbing the public store. This crime, in its tendency so pregnant with evil to the little community, was rendered still more atrocious by being perpetrated at the very time when the difference in the ration of provisions which had till then existed was taken off, and the convict saw the same proportion issued to himself that was served to the officer and the soldier, spirits only excepted: but it was seen with concern, that there were among them minds so habitually vicious that no consideration was of any weight with them, nor could they be induced to do right by any prospect of future benefit, or fear of certain or immediate punishment. The charge being fully proved, one man, James Barrell, suffered death. His Excellency (in whom the power of pardoning was vested by His Majesty's commission), having caused one example to be made, extended lenity to some others who were tried the following day.

It appeared by the letters-patent under the great seal of Great Britain, that His Majesty had authorised, by his commission under the great seal, "the Governor, or in his absence the Lieutenant-governor, to convene from time to time, as occasion might require, a court of criminal jurisdiction; which court was to be a court of record, and to consist of the judge-advocate and such six officers of the sea and land service as the Governor shall, by precept issued under his hand and seal, require to assemble for that purpose." This court has power to inquire of, hear, determine, and punish all treasons, misprisions of treason, murders, felonies, forgeries, perjuries, trespasses, and other crimes whatsoever, that may be committed in the colony; the punishment for such offences to be inflicted according to the laws of England as nearly as may be, considering and allowing for the circumstances and situation of the settlement and its inhabitants. The charge against any offender to be reduced into writing, and exhibited



by the judge-advocate: witnesses to be examined upon oath, and the major part of the court to adjudge whether or not the prisoner be guilty. If guilty, and the offence be capital, they are to pronounce judgment of death in like manner as if the prisoner had been convicted by the verdict of a jury in England, or of such corporal punishment as the major part of the court shall deem meet. And in cases not capital, they are to adjudge such corporal punishment as the majority of the court shall determine. But no offender is to suffer death, unless five members of the court shall concur in adjudging him to be guilty, or until the King's pleasure be signified thereupon. The provost-marshal is to cause the judgment of the court to be executed according to the Governor's warrant under his hand and seal.

Beside this court for the trial of criminal offenders, there is a civil court, consisting of the judge-advocate and two inhabitants of the settlement, who are to be appointed by the Governor; which court has full power to hear and determine in a summary way all pleas of lands, houses, debts, contracts, and all personal pleas whatsoever. From this court, on either party, plaintiff or defendant, finding himself aggrieved by the judgment or decree, an appeal lies to the Governor, and from him, where the debt or thing in demand shall exceed the value of £300 to the King in council; but these appeals must be put in, if from the civil court, within eight days, and if from the Governor or superior court, within fourteen days after pronouncing the said judgments.

To this court is likewise given authority to grant probates of wills and administration of the personal estates of intestates dying within the settlement.

In addition to these courts for the trial of crimes, the Governor, the lieutenant-governor, and the judge-advocate for the time being, are by His Majesty's letters-patent constituted justices for the preservation of the peace of the settlement, with the same power that justices of the peace have in England within their respective jurisdictions.

There is also a vice-admiralty court for the trial of offences committed upon the high seas, of which the lieutenant-governor is constituted. The Governor has, beside that of captain-general, a commission constituting him vice-admiral of the territory; and another vesting him with authority to hold general courts-martial, and to confirm or set aside the



sentence. The major-commandant of the detachment had the usual power of assembling regimental or battalion courts-martial for the trial of offences committed by the soldiers under his command.

By this account of the different modes of administering and obtaining justice which the legislature had provided for this settlement, it is evident that great care had been taken, on their setting out, to furnish them with a stable foundation whereon to erect their little colony; a foundation which was established in the punishment of vice, the security of property, and the preservation of peace and good order in the community.

The Governor having also received instructions to establish a settlement at Norfolk Island, the "Supply" sailed for that place about the middle of February, having on board Lieutenant King of the "Sirius," named by Captain Phillip superintendent and commandant of the settlement to be formed there. Lieutenant King took with him one surgeon, one petty officer, two private soldiers, two persons who pretended to some knowledge in flax-dressing, and nine male and six female convicts, mostly volunteers. This little party was to be landed with tents, clothing for the convicts, implements of husbandry, tools for dressing flax, &c., and provisions for six months; before the expiration of which time it was designed to send them a fresh supply.

Norfolk Island is situated in the latitude of  $29^{\circ}$  south, and in longitude  $168^{\circ} 10'$  East of Greenwich, and was settled with a view to the cultivation of the flax plant, which at the time when the island was discovered by Captain Cook was found growing most luxuriantly where he landed; and from the specimens taken to England of the New Zealand flax (of which sort is that growing at Norfolk Island), it was hoped that some advantage to the mother-country might be derived from cultivating and manufacturing it.

Houses for the reception of the stores were begun as soon as sufficient ground was cleared for that purpose; and it was found most to the advantage of the public service to employ the convicts in task-work, allotting a certain quantity of ground to be cleared by a certain number of persons in a given time, and allowing them to employ what time they might gain, till called on again for public service, in bringing in materials and erecting huts for themselves. But these



unfortunate people for the most part preferred passing in idleness the hours that might have been so profitably spent, straggling into the woods, or visiting the French Ships in Botany Bay. M. de Clonard, the captain of the "Astrolabe," (who brought round some despatches from M. de la Pérouse, which that officer requested might be forwarded to the French ambassador at the court of London by the first of our transports that might sail from thence to Europe,) informed the Governor, that they had been daily visited by the convicts, many of whom solicited to be received on board before their departure, promising (as an inducement) to be accompanied by a number of females. M. de Clonard at the same time assured him, that the general (as he was termed by his officers and people) had given their solicitations no kind of countenance, but had threatened to drive them away by force.

*Old Sydney Harbour*  
Among the buildings that were early erected was an observatory on the western point of the Cove, to receive the astronomical instruments which had been sent out by the Board of Longitude, for the purpose of observing the comet which was expected to be seen about the end of this year. The construction of this building was placed under the direction of Lieutenant Dawes of the marines, who, having made this branch of science his particular study, was appointed by that Board to make astronomical observations in this country.

Governor Phillip, having been pressed for time when he first visited this harbour, had not thoroughly examined it. The completion of that necessary business was left to Captain Hunter, who, with the first lieutenant of the "Sirius," early in the month of February made an accurate survey. It was found to be far more extensive to the westward than had been imagined; and Captain Hunter described the country as wearing a much more favourable aspect toward the head, or upper part, than it did immediately about the settlement. He saw several parties of the natives, and, treating them constantly with good humour, they always left him with friendly impressions.

It was natural to suppose, that the curiosity of these people would be attracted by observing, that, instead of quitting, their visitors were occupied in works that indicated an intention of remaining in their country; but during the first six weeks, only two came near them. These men strolled into



the camp one evening, and remained in it for about half an hour. They appeared to admire whatever they saw, and, after receiving each a hatchet (of the use of which the eldest instantly and curiously showed his knowledge, by turning up his foot and sharpening a piece of wood on the sole with the hatchet), took their leave, apparently well pleased with their reception. The fishing-boats also frequently reported their having been visited by many of these people when hauling the seine; at which labour they often assisted with cheerfulness, and in return were generally rewarded with part of the fish taken.

Every precaution was used to guard against a breach of this friendly and desirable intercourse, by strictly prohibiting every person from depriving them of their spears, fuzgigs, gum, or other articles, which it was soon perceived they were accustomed to leave under the rocks, or loose and scattered about upon the beaches.

There was, however, great reason to believe, that these precautions were first rendered fruitless by the ill conduct of a boat's crew belonging to one of the transports, who had attempted to land in one of the coves at the lower part of the harbour, but were prevented, and driven off with stones by the natives. A party of them, consisting of sixteen or eighteen persons, some time after landed on the island, where the people of the "Sirius" were preparing a garden, and, with much artifice watching their opportunity, carried off a shovel, a spade, and a pick-axe. On their being fired at, and hit on the legs by one of the people with small shot, the pick-axe was dropped, but they carried off the other tools.

To such circumstances as these must be attributed the termination of that good understanding which had hitherto subsisted, and which Governor Phillip laboured to improve whenever he had an opportunity. But it might have been foreseen that this would unavoidably happen: the convicts were everywhere straggling about, collecting animals and gum to sell to the people of the transports, who at the same time were procuring spears, shields, swords, fishing-lines, and other articles from the natives, to carry to Europe; the loss of which must have been attended with many inconveniences to the owners, as it was soon evident that they were the only means whereby they obtained or could procure their daily subsistence; and although some of these people had been



punished for purchasing articles of the convicts, the practice was carried on secretly, and attended with all the bad effects that were to be expected from it. The Governor had also the mortification to learn that M. de la Pérouse had been compelled to fire upon the natives at Botany Bay, where they frequently annoyed his people who were employed on shore. This circumstance materially affected the new inhabitants, as those who had rendered this violence necessary could not discriminate between the two nations. The English were, however, perfectly convinced that nothing short of the greatest necessity could have induced M. de la Pérouse to take such a step; as he had been heard to declare, that it was among the particular instructions which he received from his sovereign, to endeavour by every possible means to acquire and cultivate the friendship of the natives of such places as he might discover or visit, and to avoid exercising any act of hostility upon them. In obedience to this humane command, there was no doubt but he forbore using force until forbearance would have been dangerous; and he had been taught a lesson at Maouna, one of the Isles des Navigateurs, that the tempers of savages were not to be trusted too far; having, on the very day and hour of their departure from that island, had the boats of the two ships, which were sent on shore for the last load of water, attacked by the natives with stones and clubs, and M. de l'Angle, the captain of the "Astrolabe," with eleven officers and men, put to death; those who were so fortunate as to get off in the small boats that attended on the watering launches (which were destroyed) escaped, but not without many wounds and contusions. It was conjectured, that some one of the seamen by ill conduct must have provoked this outrage, as the natives during the time when the ships were at the island had lived with the officers and people on terms of the greatest harmony. This was not the first misfortune that those ships had met with during their voyage; for on the north-west coast of America they lost two boats, with their crews and several young men of family, in the surf.

Notwithstanding the pressure of important business at Sydney, the discharge of religious duties was never omitted; divine service being performed every Sunday that the weather would permit; at which time the detachment of marines paraded with their arms, the whole body of convicts attended, and were observed to conduct themselves in general with the



respect and attention due to the occasion on which they were assembled.

It was observed with satisfaction, that many couples were announced for marriage; but on strictly scrutinizing into the motive, it was found in several instances to have originated in an idea, that the married people would meet with various little comforts and privileges that were denied to those in a single state; and some, on not finding those expectations realised, repented, wished, and actually applied to be restored to their former situation; so ignorant and thoughtless were they in general. It was, however, to be wished that matrimonial connexions should be promoted among them; and none who applied for that purpose were ever rejected; except when it was clearly understood that either of the parties had a wife or husband living at the time of their leaving England.

The weather during the latter end of January and the month of February was very close, with rain, at times very heavy, and attended with much thunder and lightning, by which some sheep, lambs, and pigs were destroyed.

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CHAPTER II.

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Early in March the Governor, accompanied by some officers, went by water to survey the harbour of Broken Bay; which proved equal in magnitude to Port Jackson, but the land in general was very high, and in most parts rocky and barren. The weather turned out very unfavourable to this excursion in a country where the residence for each night was to be provided for by the travellers themselves; and some of the party returned with dysenteric complaints. The weather at Port Jackson had been equally adverse to labour; and the Governor found, at his return, upwards of two hundred patients under the surgeon's care, in consequence of the heavy rains that had fallen. A building for the reception of the sick was now absolutely necessary, and one was put in hand, to be divided into a dispensary (all the hospital-stores being at that time under tents), a ward for the troops, and another for the convicts. The heavy rains also pointed out the necessity of sheltering the detachment; and until barracks could be built, most of them covered their tents with thatch, or erected for themselves temporary clay huts. The barracks were begun early in March; but much difficulty was found in providing proper materials, the timber being in general shaky and rotten. They were to consist of four buildings, and were placed at a convenient distance from each other for the benefit of air and cleanliness, and with a space in the centre for a parade.

On or about the 10th of March, the French ships sailed from Botany Bay, bound, as they said, to the northward, and carrying with them the most unfavourable ideas of this country and its native inhabitants; the officers having declared, that in their whole voyage they nowhere found so poor a country, nor such miserable people. There had been, during their stay in this country, a very friendly and pleasant intercourse kept up between them and the English; they had among their officers men of abilities, whose observations and exertions in the search after knowledge will most amply illustrate the history of their voyage; and it reflected much credit on the minister, when he arranged the plan of it, that



people of the first talents for navigation, astronomy, natural history, and every other science that could render it conspicuously useful, should have been selected for that purpose.

A wharf for the convenience of landing stores was begun, under the direction of the surveyor-general: the ordnance, consisting of two brass six-pounders on travelling carriages, four iron twelve-pounders, and two iron six-pounders, were landed; the transports, which were chartered for China, were cleared; the long-boats of the ships in the Cove were employed in bringing cabbage-tree from the lower part of the harbour, where it grew in great abundance, and was found, when cut into proper lengths, very fit for the purpose of erecting temporary huts; the posts and plates of which, being made of the pine of the country, and the sides and ends filled with lengths of the cabbage-tree, plastered over with clay, formed a very good hovel. The roofs were generally thatched with the grass of the gum-rush; some were covered with clay, but several of these failed, the weight of the clay and heavy rain soon destroying them.

A gang of convicts was employed in making bricks at a spot about a mile from the settlement, where two acres of ground were marked out for such officers as were willing to cultivate them and raise a little grain for their stock; it not being the intention of government to give any grants of land until the necessary accounts of the country, and of what expectations were likely to be formed from it, should be received.

The principal street of the intended town was marked out at the head, and its dimensions were extensive. The government-house was to be constructed on the summit of a hill commanding a capital view of Long Cove, and other parts of the harbour; but this was to be a work of after consideration; for the present, as the ground was not cleared, it was sufficient to point out the situation and define the limits of the future building.

On the 19th the "Supply" returned from Norfolk Island, having been absent five weeks. She had made the island on the 29th of the preceding month; but for the five succeeding days was not able to effect a landing, being prevented by the surf, which broke with violence on a reef of rocks that lay across the principal bay. Lieutenant King had nearly given up all hopes of being able to land, when a small opening was



discovered in the reef, wide enough to admit a boat, through which he was so fortunate as to get safely with all his people and stores. When landed, he could nowhere find a space clear enough for pitching a tent; and he had to cut through an almost impenetrable wilderness before he could encamp himself and his people. Of the stock which he carried with him, he lost the only she-goat that he had, and one ewe. He had named the bay wherein he landed and fixed the settlement, Sydney Bay; and had given the names of Phillip and Nepean to two small islands which are situated at a small distance from it.

Lieutenant King wrote in good spirits, and spoke of meeting all his difficulties like a man determined to overcome them. The soil if this island appeared to be very rich, but the landing dangerous. The flax-plant (the principal object in view) he had not discovered when the "Supply" sailed. Lieutenant Ball, soon after he left this harbour, fell in with an uninhabited island in lat.  $31^{\circ} 56'$  S. and in long.  $159^{\circ} 4'$  E., which he named Lord Howe Island. It is inferior in size to Norfolk Island, but abounded at that time with turtle (sixteen of which he brought away with him), as well as with a new species of fowl, and a small brown bird, the flesh of which was very fine eating. These birds were in great abundance, and so unused to such visitors, that they suffered themselves to be knocked down with sticks, as they ran along the beach.

Pines, but no small trees, grow on this island; in which there is a good bay, but no anchoring ground. Of the pines at Norfolk Island, one measured nine feet in diameter, and another that was found lying on the ground measured 182 feet in length. As the scurvy was at this time making rapid strides in the colony, the hope of being able to procure a check to its effects from the new island rendered it, in every one's opinion, a fortunate discovery.

In the course of this month several convicts came in from the woods; one in particular dangerously wounded with a spear, and the others very much beaten and bruised by the natives. The wounded man had been employed in cutting rushes, and one of the others had been collecting vegetables. All these people denied there having given any provocation to the natives: it was, however, difficult to believe them; they well knew the consequences that would attend any acts of violence on their parts; as it had been declared in public



orders, that in forming the intended settlement, any act of cruelty to the natives being contrary to His Majesty's gracious intentions, the offenders would be subject to a criminal prosecution; and they well knew that the natives themselves, however injured, could not contradict their assertions. There was, however, too much reason to conclude that the convicts had been the aggressors; as the Governor, at his return from Broken Bay, on landing at Camp Cove, found the natives there, who had before frequently come up to him with confidence, unusually shy, and seemingly afraid of him and his party; and one, who after much invitation did venture to approach, pointed to some marks upon his shoulders, making signs that they were caused by blows given with a stick. This, with their running away, were strong indications that they had been ill-treated by the stragglers. Eleven canoes full of people passed very near the "Sirius," which was moored without the points of the Cove, but paddled away very fast upon the approach of some boats towards them.

The curiosity of the new settlers was excited and gratified for a day or two by the sight of an emu, which was shot. It was remarkable, by every stem having two feathers proceeding from it. Its height was seven feet four inches, and the flesh was very well flavoured.

The run of water that supplied the settlement was observed to be only a drain from a swamp at the head of it. To protect it, therefore, as much as possible from the sun, an order was given out, forbidding the cutting down of any tree within fifty feet of it.

It being now April, and the winter of this hemisphere approaching, it became necessary to expedite the buildings intended for the detachment. Every carpenter that could be procured among the convicts was sent to assist, and as many as could be hired from the transports were employed at the hospital and storehouse. The long-boats still continued to bring up the cabbage-tree from the lower part of the harbour, and a range of huts was begun on the west side for some of the female convicts.

The little camp now began to wear the aspect of distress, from the great number of scorbutic patients that were daily seen creeping to and from the hospital tent; and the principal surgeon suggested the expediency of another supply of turtle from Lord Howe Island; but it was generally thought that the



season was too far advanced, and that the utmost which could have been procured would have made but a very trifling and temporary change in the diet of those afflicted with the disorder.

On the 6th, divine service was performed in the new store-house, which was covered in, but not sufficiently completed to admit provisions. One hundred feet by twenty-five were the dimensions of this building, which was constructed with great strength; yet the mind was always pained when viewing its reedy combustible covering, remembering the livid flames that had been seen to shoot over every part of this Cove: but no other materials could be found to answer the purpose of thatch, and every precaution was taken to guard against accidental fire.

An elderly woman, a convict, having been detected in stealing a flat iron, hung herself to the ridge-pole of her tent, but was fortunately discovered in time to preserve her life. What feeling could tempt her to this rash action it would be difficult to guess, as her being a convict too plainly proved that she could survive the loss of character. Several other thefts were committed by these people; yet it was in general remarked, that on the whole they conducted themselves with more propriety than could have been expected from their former lives. To prevent, however, if possible, the commission of offences so prejudicial to the welfare of the colony, the Governor signified to them his fixed resolve, that condemnation of anyone for robbing huts or stores should be immediately followed by execution. Much of their irregularity was, perhaps, to be ascribed to the intercourse that subsisted, in spite of punishment, between them and the seamen from the ships of war and the transports, who at least one day in the week found means to get on shore with spirits.

His Excellency, desirous of acquiring a knowledge of the country about the seat of government, and profiting by the coolness of the weather, made during the month several excursions; in one of which having observed a range of mountains to the westward, and hoping that a river might be found to take its course in their neighbourhood, he set off with a small party, intending if possible to reach them, taking with him six days' provisions; but he returned without attaining either object of his journey,—the mountains or a river.



He penetrated about thirty miles inland, through a country most amply clothed with timber, but in general free from underwood. On the fifth day of his excursion, he caught, from a rising ground which he named Belle Vue, the only glance of the mountains which he obtained during his journey; and as they then appeared at too great a distance to be reached on one day's allowance of provisions, which was all they had left, he determined to return to Sydney Cove.

In Port Jackson another branch extending to the northward had been discovered; but as the country surrounding it was high, rocky, and barren, though it might add to the extent and beauty of the harbour, it did not promise to be of any benefit to the settlement.

The Governor had the mortification to learn on his return from his western expedition, that five ewes and a lamb had been destroyed at a farm in the adjoining Cove, supposed to have been killed by dogs belonging to the natives. This to the happy inhabitants of Great Britain may appear a circumstance too trivial to record; but to these founders of a new world it was of magnitude sufficient to be by them deemed a public calamity; so much do situations exalt or diminish the importance of circumstances!

The number of sheep that were landed in this country had been considerably lessened; they were of necessity placed on ground, and compelled to feed on grass, that had never before been exposed to air or sun, and which consequently did not agree with them; a circumstance much to be lamented; as without stock the settlement must for years remain dependent on the mother-country for the means of subsistence.

The month of May opened with the trial, conviction, and execution of James Bennett, a youth of seventeen years of age, for breaking open and robbing a tent. He confessed that he had often merited death before he committed the crime for which he was then about to suffer, and that the love of idleness and bad connexions had been his ruin. He was executed immediately on his receiving sentence, in the hope of making a greater impression on the convicts.

There being no other shelter for the guard than tents, great inconvenience was found in placing under its charge more than one or two prisoners at a time. The convicts, therefore, who were confined at the guard until they could be conveyed to the southward, were removed to the Bare Island at the



entrance of the Cove, where they were supplied weekly with provisions until an opportunity offered of sending them away.

On the 6th of the month the "Supply" sailed for Lord Howe Island, to procure turtle and birds for the settlement, the scurvy continuing to resist every effort that could be made to check its progress by medicine: from the lateness of the season, however, little hope was entertained of her success.

The Governor having directed every person in the settlement to make a return of what live stock was in his possession, the following appeared to be the total amount of stock in the colony:—

1 stallion, 3 mares, 3 colts, 2 bulls, 5 cows, 29 sheep, 19 goats, 49 hogs, 25 pigs, 5 rabbits, 18 turkeys, 29 geese, 35 ducks, 142 fowls, 87 chickens.

There having been found among the convicts a person qualified to conduct the business of bricklayer, a gang of labourers was put under his direction; and most of the huts which grew up in different parts of the cleared ground were erected by them. Another gang of labourers was put under the direction of a stone-mason; and on the 15th the first stone of a building, intended for the residence of the Governor until the government-house could be erected, was laid on the east side.

The large store-house being completed, and a road made to it from the wharf, the provisions were landed from the victuallers. The necessary work of covering in the hospital was likewise completed with shingles prepared for the purpose, and which were fastened on by pegs made by the female convicts.

The timber that had been cut down proved in general very unfit for the purpose of building, the trees being for the most part decayed; and when cut down they were immediately warped and split by the heat of the sun. A species of pine appeared to be the best, and was chiefly used in the framework of houses, and in covering the roofs, the wood splitting easily into shingles.

The "Supply" returned on the 25th from Lord Howe Island; but, to the great distress of the invalids and disappointment of every one, without procuring any turtle, the weather being much too cold and the season too late to find them so far to the southward.



To the southward and eastward of Lord Howe Island there is a rock, which may be seen at the distance of eighteen leagues, and to which, from its shape, Lieutenant Ball gave the name of Ball Pyramid.

Farther and still more unpleasant consequences of the ill-treatment which the natives received from the new inhabitants were felt during this month. On the 21st a convict belonging to the farm on the east side was brought to the hospital very dangerously wounded with a barbed spear, which had entered about the depth of three inches into his back, between the shoulders. The account that he gave of the transaction was, that having strayed to a cove beyond the farm with another man (who did not return with him), he was suddenly wounded with a spear, not having seen any natives until he received the wound. His companion ran away when the natives came up, who stripped him of all his clothes, except his trousers, which they did not take, and then left him to crawl to the camp. A day or two afterwards the clothes of the man that was missing were brought in, torn and bloody, and pierced with spears; so that there was every reason to suppose that the poor wretch had fallen a sacrifice to his own folly and the barbarity of the natives; and on the 30th an officer, who had been collecting rushes in a cove up the harbour, found and brought to the hospital the bodies of two convicts who had been employed for some time in cutting rushes there; they were pierced through in many places with spears, and the head of one beaten to a jelly. As it was improbable that these murders should be committed without provocation, inquiry was made; and it appeared that these unfortunate men had, a few days previous to their being found, taken away and detained a canoe belonging to the natives; for which act of violence and injustice they paid with their lives.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, a party of natives in their canoes went alongside the "Sirius," and some submitted to the operation of shaving: after which they landed on the western point of the cove, where they examined with the greatest attention everything that they saw, and then went away peaceably, and apparently not under any apprehension of resentment on our parts for the murders above-mentioned.

The Governor, however, on hearing of the murder of the rush-cutters, thought it absolutely necessary to endeavour to discover, and, if possible, secure those who had killed them;



for which purpose he set off with a strong party well armed, and landed in the Cove where their bodies had been found; whence he struck across the country to Botany Bay, where on the beach he saw about fifty canoes, but none of their owners. In a cove on the seaside, however, between Botany Bay and Port Jackson, he suddenly fell in with an armed party of between two and three hundred natives, consisting of men, women, and children. With these a friendly intercourse directly took place, and some spears, &c., were exchanged for hatchets; but the murderers, if amongst them, could not be discovered. The Governor had hoped to have found the people still at the place where the men were killed, in which case he would have endeavoured to secure some of them, but, not having any fixed residence, they had, perhaps, left the spot immediately after satisfying their sanguinary resentment.

The fourth of June was ushered in with every demonstration of respect which it was in the power of these exiles from polished life to show the day distinguished by the birth of their beloved sovereign. Some of the worst amongst the convicts availed themselves of the opportunity that was given them in the evening, by the absence of several of the officers and people from their tents and huts on this festive occasion, to commit depredations. Several robberies were detected, and two of the delinquents afterwards suffered death for their offences. One of these had absconded, and lived in the woods for nineteen days, existing on what he was able to procure by nocturnal thefts among the huts and stocks of individuals. His visits for this purpose was so frequent and daring, that at length it became absolutely necessary to proclaim him an outlaw, as well as to declare that no person must harbour him after such proclamation.

Exemplary punishments seemed about this period to be growing daily more necessary. Stock was often killed, huts and tents broken open, and provisions constantly stolen, particularly about the latter end of the week; as many of those unthrifty people, taking no care to husband their provisions through the seven days that they were intended to last them, had consumed the whole by the end of the third or fourth day. One of this description made his week's allowance of flour (eight pounds) into cakes, which he devoured at one meal; he was soon after taken speechless and senseless, and died the following day, a loathsome putrid object.



The obvious consequence of this want of economy was, that he who consumed his week's allowance in three days must steal from those who had been more provident. Had a few persons been sent out who were not of the description of convicts, to have acted as overseers or superintendents, regulations for their internal economy, as well in the articles of clothing as provisions, might have been formed which would have prevented these evils: it would then too have been more practicable to detect them in selling or exchanging the slops which they received, and their provisions would have been subject to daily inspection. But overseers drawn from among themselves, were found not to have that influence which was absolutely necessary to carry any regulations into effect. It was not for want of having their duty pointed out to them, or the certain consequences in which a breach of it would involve them, that they transgressed; but many among them were so inured to the habits of vice, and so callous to remonstrance, that they were only restrained until a favourable opportunity presented itself.

In the beginning of this month (June) the colony sustained a severe loss by the neglect of a convict who had charge of the cattle, and who permitted them to stray. The two bulls with four cows either wandered into the woods, or were perhaps driven away by the natives; and although several parties were successively sent in search of them they could nowhere be discovered. On the 27th of the same month a party of the natives, supposed to be from twenty to thirty in number, landed at the east side of the Cove, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, and proceeded along close by the sentinels, stopping for some time where the Governor's house was building, and in the rear of the tents inhabited by some of the women. It was said that they appeared alarmed on hearing the sentinels call out "All is well," and, after standing there for some time, went off towards the run of water. The sentinels were very positive in their declaration that they had seen them, and were minute in their relation of the above circumstances; notwithstanding which, it was conjectured by many to be only the effect of imagination. It is not unlikely, however, that these people might have chosen that hour of the night to gratify a curiosity which would very naturally be excited on finding that their visitants still resided among them; and they might wish to discover whether all these new comers passed their night in sleep.



The cold weather which prevailed at this time of the year was observed to affect the fishing; and the natives themselves appeared to be in great want. An old man belonging to them was found on the beach of one of the coves, almost starved to death.

The Governor being told that a native, having stolen a jacket from a convict, had been killed by him in an attempt to recover it, issued a proclamation, promising a free pardon, with remission of the sentence of transportation, to such male or female convict as should give information of any such offender or offenders, so that they might be prosecuted to conviction; but no discovery was made.

One evening in this month a slight shock of an earthquake had been observed, which lasted two or three seconds, and was accompanied with a distant noise like the report of cannon, coming from the southward; the shock, however, was local.

In July an official report of the state of the sick was made by the principal surgeon. The number of marines under medical treatment was thirty-six; the number of convicts fifty-six. Convicts unfit for labour from old age and infirmities fifty-two; and if idleness might have been taken into account, (as well it might, since many were thereby rendered of very little service to the colony,) the number would have been greatly augmented.

On the 20th the "Supply" sailed with stores and provisions for Norfolk Island. Only two transports remained of the fleet that came out from England, the "Golden Grove" and "Fishburn"; and preparations were making for clearing and discharging them from Government service, by constructing a cellar on the west side for receiving the spirits, and depositing the provisions in the large store-house.

From the nature of the materials with which most of the huts occupied by the convicts were covered in, several accidents happened by fire, whereby the labour of many people was lost; they again were obliged to seek a shelter for themselves, and had in general to complain of the destruction of provisions and clothing. To prevent this an order was issued prohibiting the building of chimneys, in future, in such huts as were thatched.

Thefts still continued to be committed by and among the convicts. Wine was stolen from the hospital, and several persons were tried upon suspicion, but for want of sufficient



evidence were acquitted. There was such a tenderness in these people to each other's guilt, such an acquaintance with vice and the different degrees of it, that unless detected in the fact, it was next to impossible to bring an offeree home to them.

The natives, who had been accustomed to assist the fishermen in hauling the seine, and were content to wait for such reward as the person who had the direction of the boat thought proper to give them, either driven by hunger, or moved by some other cause, came down to the cove where they were fishing, and, perceiving that they had been more successful than common, took by force about half of what had been brought on shore. They were all armed with spears and other weapons, and made their attack with some show of method, having a party stationed in the rear with their spears poised, in readiness to throw if any resistance had been made. To prevent this in future, it was ordered that a petty officer should go in the boats whenever they were sent down the harbour. No precaution, however, that could be taken or orders that were given, to prevent accidents happening by misconduct on the part of the convicts, had any weight. On the evening of the 27th one of them was brought in, wounded by the natives. He had left the encampment, with another convict, to gather vegetables, and, contrary to the positive order which had been repeatedly given, went nearly as far as Botany Bay, where they fell in with a party of the natives, who made signs to them to go back; which they did, but unfortunately different ways. This being observed by the natives, they threw their spears at them. One escaped unhurt, but the other received two spears in him, one entering a little above his left ear, the other in his breast. He took to an arm of the bay, which, notwithstanding his wounds, he swam across, and reported that the natives stood on the bank laughing at him. Much credit indeed, was not to be given to their accounts; but it must be remarked, that every accident which had happened was occasioned by a breach of positive orders repeatedly given.

Still, notwithstanding this appearance of hostility in some of the natives, others were more friendly. In one of the adjoining coves resided a family of them, who were visited by large parties of the convicts of both sexes on those days in which they were not wanted for labour. Here they danced and sung with apparent good humour, and received such



presents as the convicts could afford to make them; but none of the natives would venture back with their visitors.

During the beginning of August much heavy rain fell, and not only prevented the carrying-on of labour, but rendered the work of much time fruitless by its effects; the brick-kiln fell in more than once, and bricks to a large amount were destroyed; the roads about the settlement were rendered impassable; and some of the huts were so far injured as to require nearly as much time to repair them as to build them anew. It was not until the 14th of the month, when the weather cleared up, that the people were again able to work. There were at this time in hand barracks for the marine detachment; an observatory, the houses erecting for the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, and the shingling of the hospital.

It had been imagined in England, that some, if not considerable savings of provisions might be made, by the quantity of fish that it was supposed would be taken; but nothing like an equivalent for the ration that was issued to the colony for a single day had ever been brought up.

It was said that the French ships, while in Botany Bay, had met with one very successful haul of large fish, which more than supplied both ships' companies; but this good fortune had never attended Governor Phillip's people. Fish enough was sometimes taken to supply about two hundred persons; but the quantity very rarely exceeded this. Three sting-rays had been taken in the course of this month, and two of them, which weighed about three hundred weight, were distributed among the people.

On the 26th the "Supply" returned from Norfolk Island, having been absent five weeks and two days. From the Commandant the most favourable accounts were received of the richness and depth of the soil, and salubrity of the climate, having been visited with very little rain, or thunder and lightning. His search after the flax-plant had been successful; where he had cleared the ground he found it growing spontaneously and luxuriant: a small species of plantain also had been discovered. His gardens promised an ample supply of vegetables; but his seed-wheat having been heated in the long passage to this country, turned out to be damaged, and did not vegetate. The landing was found to be very dangerous; and he had the misfortune to lose Mr. Cunningham,



the midshipman, and three people, with the boat that they were in, by the surf on the reef, a few days before the "Supply" sailed. Short, however, as the time was, the carpenter of that vessel replaced the boat, by building him a coble of the timber of the island, constructed purposely for going without the reef, and for the hazardous employ in which she must often be engaged.

The settlement of Sydney Cove was for some time amused with an account of the existence and discovery of a gold mine; and the impostor had ingenuity enough to impose a fabricated tale on several of the people for truth. He pretended to have found it at some distance down the harbour; and, offering to conduct an officer to the spot, a boat was provided; but immediately on landing, having previously prevailed on the officer to send away the boat, to prevent his discovery being made public to more than one person, he made a pretence to leave him, and, reaching the settlement some hours before the officer, reported that he had been sent up by him for a guard. The fellow knew too well the consequences that would follow on the officer's arrival to wait for that, and therefore set off directly into the woods, but being brought back was punished for his imposition with fifty lashes. Still, however, persisting that he had discovered a metal, a specimen of which he produced, the Governor ordered him to be taken again down the harbour, with directions to his adjutant to land the men on the place which he should point out, and keep him in sight; but on being assured by that officer, that if he attempted to deceive him he would put him to death, the man confessed that his story of having found a gold-mine was a falsehood which he had propagated in the hope of imposing on the people belonging to the "Fishburn" and "Golden Grove" store-ships, from whom he expected to procure clothing and other articles in return for his promised gold-dust; and that he had fabricated the specimens of the metal which he had exhibited, from a guinea and a brass buckle; the remains of which he then produced, and was rewarded for his ingenuity with a hundred lashes.

Among the people of his own description, there were many who believed, notwithstanding his confession and punishment, that he had actually made the discovery which he pretended, and that he was induced to say it was a fabrication merely to secure it to himself, to make use of at a future opportunity:



so easy is it to impose on the minds of the lower class of people!

The natives continued to molest the inhabitants whenever they chanced to meet any of them straggling and unarmed; yet, although forcibly warned by the evil and danger that attended their being thus found, the latter still continued to give the natives opportunity of injuring them. About the middle of this month a convict who had wandered beyond the limits of security fell in with a party of natives, who stripped and beat him shockingly, and would have murdered him had not the report of a musket frightened them away. On the 21st a party of natives landed from five canoes, near the point where the observatory was building, where, some of them engaging the attention of the officers and people at the observatory, the others attempted forcibly to take off a goat from the people at the hospital; in which attempt, finding themselves resisted by a seaman who happened to be present, they menaced him with spears, and, on retiring, killed the animal and took it off in a canoe. They were followed by the Governor, who overtook some of the party, but could neither recover the goat, nor meet with the people who killed it.

It was much to be regretted, that none of these people could be prevailed on to place a confidence in, and reside among the English; as in such case, by an exchange of language, they would have found that most friendly intentions were entertained towards them, and that any who should injure them would meet with severe chastisement.

September commenced, and the seed-wheat which had been sown here did not turn out any better than at Norfolk Island; in some places the ground had been twice cropped, and there was reason to apprehend a failure of seed for the next year. The Governor therefore, early in this month, signified his intention of sending the "Sirius" to the Cape of Good Hope, to procure a sufficient quantity of grain for that purpose; together with as much flour for the settlement as she could stow, after laying in a twelvemonth's provisions for her ship's company. Her destination was intended to have been to the northward; but on making a calculation, and comparing the accounts of those navigators who had procured refreshments among the islands, it was found, that although she might provide very well for herself, yet, after an absence of three or four months, which would be the least time that she would



be gone, she could not bring more than would support the colony for a fortnight. At the same time His Excellency made known his intention of establishing a settlement on some ground which he had seen at the head of this harbour, and which, from its form, he had named the Crescent. This measure appeared the more expedient, as the soil in and about the settlement seemed to be very indifferent and unproductive, and by no means so favourable for the growth of grain as that at the Crescent.

The "Sirius" was therefore ordered to prepare for her voyage with all expedition; and, in order to her stowing a greater quantity of flour, eight of her guns were landed on the west point of the cove, and a small breast-work thrown up in front of them.

Two boats, one of eight and another of sixteen oars, which had been sent out in frame for the use of the settlement, were put together, and the smallest got into the water; but the want of a schooner or two, of from thirty to forty tons burden, to be employed in surveying this coast, was much felt and lamented.

All hope being given up of recovering the cattle which had been so unfortunately lost; and the only cow that remained not being in calf, and having become wild and dangerous, directions were given that she might be killed. She was accordingly shot, it being found impracticable to secure and slaughter her in the common way.

About the middle of September several canoes passed the "Sirius," and above thirty natives landed from them at the observatory or western point of the cove. They were armed, and, it was imagined, intended to take off some sheep from thence; but, if this was their intention, they were prevented by the appearance of two gentlemen who happened to be there unarmed; after throwing some stones, they took to their canoes and paddled off.

On the 25th the people in the fishing-boat reported that several spears were thrown at them by some natives; and this for no other reason, than that, after giving them freely what small fish they had taken, they refused them a large one which attracted their attention.

On the 30th one midshipman and two seamen from the "Sirius," one sergeant, one corporal, and five private marines, and twenty-one male and eleven female convicts, embarked on



board the "Golden Grove" for Norfolk Island, and with the "Sirius" sailed on the 2nd of October.

The detachment finding it convenient to collect vegetables, and being obliged to go for them as far as Botany Bay, the convicts were ordered to avail themselves of the protection of an armed party, and never on any account to straggle from the soldiers, or go to Botany Bay without them, on pain of severe punishment. Notwithstanding which, a convict, who had been looked upon as a good man, having gone out with an armed party to procure vegetables at Botany Bay, straggled from them, and was killed by the natives. On the return of the soldiers from the Bay he was found lying dead in the path, his head beaten to a jelly, a spear driven through it, another through his body, and one arm broken. Some people were sent out to bury him; and in the course of the month the parties who went by the spot for vegetables reported that his body was three times found above ground, having, it was supposed, been torn up by the natives' dogs. This poor wretch furnished another instance of the consequences that attended a disobedience of orders which had been purposely given to prevent these accidents; and as nothing of the kind was known to happen, but where a neglect and contempt of them was first shown, every misfortune of the kind might fairly be attributed, not to the disposition of the natives, but to the obstinacy and ignorance of their visitors.

On the departure of the "Sirius," one pound of flour was deducted from the weekly ration of those who received the full proportion, and two-thirds of a pound from such as were at two-thirds allowance.

The public works went on as usual very slowly; those employed on them in general barely exerting themselves beyond what was necessary to avoid immediate punishment for idleness.

On the 24th a convict who had straggled to a small distance from the settlement had several spears thrown at him by some natives. The Governor, on being made acquainted with the circumstance, went to the spot with an armed party, where, some of them being heard among the bushes, they were fired at; it having now become absolutely necessary to compel them to keep at a greater distance.

The month of November commenced with the establishment of the new settlement. On the 2nd, His Excellency the



Governor went to the Crescent to choose the spot, and to mark out the ground for a redoubt and other necessary buildings. Ten convicts who understood the business of cultivation were ordered to clear some land on a rising ground, which His Excellency named Rose Hill. The soil at this spot was of a stiff clayey nature, free from that rock which everywhere covered the surface at Sydney Cove, well clothed with timber, and unobstructed by underwood. While this little settlement was establishing itself, letters were received from Norfolk Island, in which Lieutenant King, the commandant, spoke in very favourable terms of his young colony. His people continued healthy, having fish and vegetables in abundance; by the former of which he was enabled to save some of his salted provisions. He had also the promise of a good crop from the grain which he had last sown, and his gardens wore the most flourishing appearance.

A coco-nut perfectly fresh, and a piece of wood said to resemble the handle of a fly-flap as made at the Friendly Islands, together with the remains of two canoes, had been found among the rocks, perhaps blown from some island which might lie at no great distance.

The small redoubt which was begun in July being finished, a flag-staff was erected, and two pieces of iron ordnance placed in it.

In order to prevent, if possible, the practice of thieving, which continued to be very frequent, an order was given, directing that no convict, found guilty of theft, should be supplied with any other clothing than a canvas frock and trousers. It was at the same time determined, that such convicts as should in future fail to perform a day's labour, should receive only two-thirds of the ration that was issued to those who could and did work.

Unimportant as these circumstances may appear when detailed at a distance from the time when they were necessary, they yet serve to show the nature of the people by whom the colony was first founded; as well as the attention that was paid by those in authority, and the steps taken by them, for establishing good order and propriety, and for eradicating villainy and idleness.

In December James Daley, the convict who in August pretended to have discovered an inexhaustible source of wealth, and who had been observed from that time to



neglect his labour, and to loiter about from hut to hut, while others were at work, was at last convicted of breaking into and plundering a house; for which he suffered death. Before he was turned off, he confessed that he had committed several thefts, to which he had been induced by bad connections, and pointed out two women who had received part of the property for the acquisition of which he was then about to pay so dear a price. These women were immediately apprehended, and one of them made a public example of, in the hope of deterring others from offending in the like manner. The convicts being all assembled for muster, she was directed to stand forward; and her head being previously deprived of its natural covering, she was clothed with a canvas frock, on which was painted, in large characters R. S. G. (Receiver of Stolen Goods,) and threatened with punishment if ever she was seen without it. This was done in the idea that shame might operate, at least with the female part of the prisoners, to the prevention of crimes; but a great number of both sexes had too long been acquainted with each other in scenes of disgrace, for this kind of punishment to work much reformation among them. This, however, must be understood to be spoken only of the lowest class of these people, among whom the commission of offences was chiefly found to exist; for there were convicts of both sexes who were never known to associate with the common herd, and whose conduct was marked by attention to their labour, and obedience to the orders which they received.

On the 11th, the Governor set off with a small party in boats, to examine the different branches of Botany Bay, and, after an excursion of five days, returned, well satisfied that no part of that extensive bay was adapted to the purpose of a settlement; thus fully confirming the reports which he had received from others, and the opinion that he had himself formed.

A convict having been found dead in the woods, an enquiry into the cause of his death was made; when it appeared from the evidence of the surgeon who opened him, and of the people who lived with the deceased, that he died through want of nourishment. It seemed that he had not for more than a week past eaten his allowance of provisions, the whole being found in his box. It was proved by those who knew him, that he was accustomed to deny himself even what was absolutely necessary to his existence, abstaining from his provisions in order to dispose of them for money; which he was reserving,



and had somewhere concealed, in order to purchase his passage to England when his time should expire.

In the course of this month a launch, or hoy, capable of conveying provisions to Rose Hill and other places, was constructed from the timber of this country: a landing-place was formed on the east side of the Cove; and at the point on the west side, a magazine was marked out, to be constructed of stone, and large enough to contain fifty or sixty barrels of powder.

It being observed with concern, that the natives were every day becoming more troublesome and hostile, several people having been wounded, and others, who were necessarily employed in the woods, driven in and much alarmed by them, the Governor determined on endeavouring to seize, and bring into the settlement, one or two of these people, whose language it was become absolutely necessary to acquire, that they might be taught to distinguish friends from enemies. Accordingly, on the 30th a young man was taken and brought in by Lieutenant Ball of the "Supply," and Lieutenant George Johnson of the marines. A second was seized; but, after dragging into the water beyond his depth the man who held him, he got clear off. The native who had been secured was on his landing conveyed to the Governor's, where he was clothed, a slight iron or manacle put upon his wrist, and a trusty convict appointed to take care of him. A small hut had been previously built for his reception close to the guardhouse, wherein he and his keeper were locked up at night; and the following morning the convict reported, that his charge had slept very well during the night, not offering to make any attempt to get away.

The weather, during the month of December, had been for the first part hot and close; the middle very fine, and the latter variable, but mostly fine:—upon the whole, the month was very hot; but the climate, by medical men as well as others, was admitted to be salubrious. The rains, which were heavy, appeared to fall chiefly about the full and change of the moon. Thunder and lightning at times had been severe, but not attended with any bad effects since the month of February. The casualties, from the fleet quitting England to the last of December, by death and desertion, amounted on the whole to one hundred and fifteen.



## CHAPTER III.

The first day of the new year (January, 1789) was marked as a holiday by a suspension of all kinds of labour, and by hoisting of colours at the fort. The ration of provisions, though still less by a pound of flour than the proper allowance, was yet so sufficient as not to be complained of; nor was labour diminished by it. Upon a calculation of the different people employed for the public in cultivation, it appeared, that of all the numbers in the colony there were only two hundred and fifty so employed:—a very small number indeed to procure the means of rendering the colony independent of the mother-country for the necessaries of life. The rest were occupied in carrying on various public works, such as stores, houses, wharfs, &c. A large number were incapable, through age or infirmities of being called to labour; and the civil establishment, the military, females, and children, filled up the catalogue of those unassisting in cultivation.

The soil immediately about the settlement was found to be of too sandy a nature to give much promise of yielding a sufficient produce even for the small quantity of stock that it possessed. At Rose Hill the prospect was better; indeed, whatever expectation could be formed of successful cultivation in the country rested as yet in that quarter. But the convicts foolishly conceiving that they had no interest in the success of their labour, by no means exerted themselves to their utmost, so that it was hardly possible to form a correct judgment of the capabilities of the soil, which they cultivated with regret, and which, if left to themselves, they would not have cultivated at all; preferring rather to have lived in idleness, and depended upon the public stores for their daily support, so long as they had anything in them, than by their labour contribute to secure themselves whereon to exist when those stores should be exhausted.

Idleness, however, was not the only vice to be complained of in these unhappy people: thefts continued to be frequent among them; and one fellow, who, after committing a robbery, had sheltered himself from punishment by concealing himself



in the woods, from whence he nightly returned for the purpose of depredation, being at length taken, was executed, in the vain hope of terrifying others. While this unfortunate wretch was suffering death, another convict, sentenced to seven hundred lashes, for wounding, by stabbing, a woman with whom he cohabited, received half his punishment.

The 19th was observed as the birthday of Her Majesty, with all the customary ceremonies.

A day or two after this, the place was agitated by a rumour that a great gun had been fired at sea; but on sending a boat down without the harbour's mouth, nothing was seen there that could confirm a report which every one anxiously wished might be true.

A boat having been sent down the harbour with some people to cut rushes, a party of natives came to the beach while they were so employed, and took three jackets out of the boat. On discovering the theft, the cockswain pursued a canoe with two men in it as far as a small island that lay near, where the natives landed, leaving the canoe at the rocks. This the cockswain took away (contrary to an order, which had been made very public, on no account to touch a canoe, or anything belonging to a native,) and towed it to the bay where they had been at work. The natives returned to the same place unobserved, and, while the cockswain and his people were collecting what rushes they could cut, threw a spear at the cockswain and wounded him in the arm, although they must have known that at that time one of their people was in the power of his countrymen on whom the injury might be retaliated. This poor native had begun to seem reconciled to his situation, and did not appear to dread any ill treatment from the present masters of his destiny. He was taken down the harbour once or twice, to let his friends see that he was alive, and had some intercourse with them which appeared to give him much satisfaction.

For fifteen days in this month, the thermometer rose in the shade above eighty degrees: once (on the 8th), at one in the afternoon, it stood at 105° in the shade.

The convicts being found to continue the practice of selling their clothing, an order was issued, directing, that if in future any of them would give information to the provost-marshal against the person who had been the purchaser, the seller should receive the clothes again, and be permitted to



keep whatever was paid for them without receiving any punishment himself for the sale. It was found necessary to direct, that all stragglers at night who, on being challenged by the patrol, should run from them, should be fired at; but orders, in general, were observed to have very little effect, and to be attended to only while the impression made by hearing them published remained upon the mind; for the convicts had not been accustomed to live in situations where their conduct was to be regulated by written orders. Here there was no other mode of communicating to them such directions as it was found necessary to issue for their observance; and it was very common to have them plead in excuse for a breach of any regulation of the settlement, that they had never before heard of it; nor had they any idea of the permanency of an order, many of them seeming to think it issued merely for the purpose of the moment.

It was much to be regretted, that there existed a necessity for placing a confidence in these people, as in too many instances the trust was found to be abused; but, unfortunately, to fill many of those offices to which free people alone should have been appointed in the colony, there were none but convicts. From these, it will readily be supposed, the best characters were selected; such as had merited by the propriety of their conduct the good report of the officers on board the ship in which they had been transported, and who had carried with them into those ships a better name than their fellows from the prisons in which they had been confined. Those who were qualified to instruct and direct others in the exercise of professions, were appointed to act as overseers, with gangs under their command; several of whom had given evident proofs, or strong indications of returning dispositions to honest industry.

There were others, however, who had no claim to this praise. Among these must be particularised William Bryant, to whom, from his having been bred a fisherman, was given the direction and management of such boats as were employed in fishing; every encouragement was held out to this man to keep him above temptation; a hut was built for him and his family; he was always presented with a certain part of whatever fish he caught; and he was not allowed to want for anything that was necessary, or that was suitable to a person of his description and situation. But he was detected in secreting and selling



large quantities of fish, a practice which he had pursued from his first appointment. For this he was severely punished, and deprived of all the comforts which he had so ill deserved.

The magazine at the Point being now completed, the powder belonging to the settlement was lodged safely within its walls.

It being of importance to the colony to ascertain the precise situation and extent of the reefs seen by Mr. Blackburn, in the "Golden Grove" storeship, Lieutenant Ball, (who was proceeding to Norfolk Island with provisions and convicts) was directed to perform that duty on his return. He sailed with the vessel under his command on the 17th, having on board twenty-one male and six female convicts, and three children; of the latter, two were to be placed under Mr. King's care as children of the public. The one, a boy of three years old, had lost his mother on the passage to that country; the other, a girl one year older, had a mother in the colony; but of so very abandoned a character, that the child was taken from her in the hope of saving it from the ruin which was otherwise inevitable. These children were to be instructed in reading, writing, and husbandry. The commandant of the island was directed to cause five acres of ground to be allotted and cultivated for their benefit, by such person as he should think fit to entrust with the charge of bringing them up according to the spirit of this intention, in promoting the success of which every friend of humanity seemed to feel an interest.

The Cove was now, for the first time, left without a ship; a circumstance not only striking by its novelty, but which forcibly drew the attention of the inhabitants to the peculiarity of their situation. The "Sirius" was gone upon a long voyage to a distant country for supplies, the arrival of which was assuredly precarious. The "Supply" had left them, to look after a dangerous reef; which service, in an unknown sea, might draw upon herself the calamity which she was seeking to instruct others to avoid. Should it have been decreed, that the arm of misfortune was to fall with such weight upon them, as to render at any time the safety of this little vessel necessary to the salvation of the colony, how deeply was every individual concerned in her welfare! Reflection on the bare possibility of its miscarriage rendered every mind anxious during her absence from the settlement.

From the evident necessity that existed of maintaining a strict discipline among the military employed in this country,



it became requisite to punish with some severity any flagrant breach of military subordination that might occur. A soldier in the detachment, having been found absent from his post as sentinel, was sentenced to receive seven hundred lashes, which sentence was put into execution upon him at two periods, with an interval of three weeks.

Towards the end of this month the detachment took possession of their barracks; and a brick-house, forty feet by thirteen, was begun on the east side for the commissary. At Rose Hill the people were principally employed in clearing and cultivating land; but the labour of removing the timber off the ground when cut down, very much retarded the best efforts of the people so employed. The military and convicts still lived under tents; and, as a proof of the small space which they occupied, two emus, or cassowaries, who must have been feeding in the neighbourhood, ran through the little camp, and were so intermingled with the people, who ran out of their tents at so strange an appearance, that it became dangerous to fire at them; and they got clear off, though literally surrounded by people, and under the muzzles of some of their muskets.

Very little molestation was at this time given by the natives; and had they never been ill treated by the inhabitants, instead of hostility, it is more than probable that an intercourse of friendship would have subsisted.

The impracticability of keeping the convicts within the limits prescribed for them became every day more evident. Almost every month from their arrival had produced one or more accidents occasioned principally by a non-compliance with the orders which had been given solely with a view to their security; and which, with thinking beings, would have been of sufficient force as examples to deter others from running into the same danger. But neither orders nor dangers seemed to be regarded, where their own temporary convenience prompted them to disobey the one, or run the risk of incurring the other. A convict had strayed into the woods for the purpose of collecting sweet tea; a herb so called by these people, and which was in great estimation among them. The leaves of it being boiled, they obtained a beverage not unlike liquorice in taste, and which was recommended by some of the medical gentlemen of the settlement as a powerful tonic. The great consumption had now rendered it scarce. It was



supposed that the convict in his search after this article had fallen in with a party of natives, who had killed him. A few days after this accident a party of convicts, sixteen in number, chiefly belonging to the brick-maker's gang, as had also the unfortunate straggler, provided themselves with stakes, and set off towards Botany Bay, with a determination to revenge, upon whatever natives they should meet, the treatment which one of their brethren had received. Near Botany Bay they fell in with the natives, but in a larger body than they expected or desired. According to their report, they were fifty in number; but much dependence was not to be placed on what they said in this respect, nor in their narrative of the affair; it is certain, however, that they were driven in by the natives, who killed one man and wounded six others. Immediately on this being known in the settlement, an armed party was sent out with an officer, who found the body of the murdered man stripped, and lying in the path. They also found a boy, who had likewise been stripped and left for dead by the natives; he was very much wounded, and his left ear nearly cut off. The party returned bearing in the boy, but without seeing any of the perpetrators of this mischief: the other wounded people had reached the settlement. The Governor, judging it highly necessary to make examples of these misguided people, who had so daringly and flagrantly broken through every order which had been given to prevent their interfering with the natives as to form a party expressly to meet with and attack them, directed that those who were not wounded should receive each one hundred and fifty lashes, and wear fetters for a twelvemonth; the like punishment was directed to be inflicted upon those who were in the hospital, as soon as they should recover from their wounds.

The same day two armed parties were sent, one toward Botany Bay, and the other in a different direction, that the natives might see that their late act of violence would neither intimidate nor prevent the English from moving beyond the settlement whenever occasion required.

Such were their enemies abroad: at home, within themselves, they had enemies to encounter of a different nature, but in their effects more difficult to guard against. The gardens and houses of individuals, and the provision store, were over-run with rats. The safety of the provisions was an object of general importance, and the Commissary was for some time





employed in examining into the state of the store. Going to it early one morning, he found the wards of a key which had been broken in the padlock that secured the principal door, and which it was the duty of the patrols to visit and inspect every night. On entering, he perceived that a harness-cask had been opened and some provisions taken out. It being supposed that the wards of the key might lead to a discovery of the perpetrator of this atrocious deed, they were sent to a convict blacksmith, an ingenious workman, through whose hands most of the work passed that was done in his line, who immediately knew them to belong to a soldier of the name of Hunt, the person who in the course of the preceding month received seven hundred lashes, and who had some time back brought the key to this blacksmith to be altered. On this information, Hunt was taken up; but, offering to give some material information, he was admitted an evidence on the part of the crown, and made an ample confession before the Lieutenant-Governor and the Judge-Advocate; in which he accused six other soldiers of having been concerned with him for a considerable time past in the diabolical practice of robbing the store of liquor and provisions in large quantities. This crime, great of itself, was still aggravated by the manner in which it was committed. Having formed their party, seven in number, and sworn each other to secrecy and fidelity, they procured and altered keys to fit the different locks on the three doors of the provision store; and it was agreed, that whenever any one of the seven should be posted there as sentinel during the night, two or more of the gang, as they found it convenient, were to come at the hours when they knew their associate would have the store under his charge, and, by means of the keys, sheltered in the security which he afforded them, (by betraying in so flagrant a manner the trust and confidence reposed in him as a sentinel), they should open a passage into the store, where they should remain shut up until they had procured as much liquor and provisions as they could take off. If the patrols visited the store while they chanced to be within its walls, the door was found locked and secure, the sentinel alert and vigilant on his post, and the store apparently safe.

Fortunately for the settlement, on the night preceding the discovery one of the party intended to have availed himself of his situation as sentinel, to enter the store alone, purposing to



plunder without the participation of his associates. But while he was standing with the key in the lock, he heard the patrol advancing. The key had done its office; but, as he knew that the lock would be examined by the corporal, in his fright and haste to turn it back again, he mistook the way, and was compelled to leave the wards in it: the other part of the key he threw away.

On this information, the six soldiers whom he accused were taken up and tried; when, the evidence of the accomplice being confirmed by several strong corroborating circumstances (among which it appeared that the store had been broken into and robbed by them at various times for upwards of eight months), they were unanimously found guilty, and sentenced to suffer that death which they acknowledged they had justly merited. Their defence wholly consisted in accusing the accomplice of having been the first to propose and carry the plan into execution, and afterwards the first to accuse and ruin the people whom he had influenced to associate with him. A crime of such magnitude called for a severe example; and the sentence was carried into execution a few days after the trial.

Some of these unhappy men were held in high estimation by their officers; but the others, together with the accomplice Hunt, had been long verging toward this melancholy fate. Four of them had been tried for the death of their comrade Bulmore, which happened in a contest with one of them in November. The liquor that they had procured from the store was the cause of drunkenness; and this was productive of many disorders, for which as soldiers they were more than once punished. To these circumstances must be added (what, perhaps, must be considered as the root of these evils) a connexion which subsisted between them and some of the worst of the female convicts; at whose huts, notwithstanding the internal regulations of their quarters, they found means to enjoy the ill-acquired plunder.

On the morning of their execution, one of them declared to the clergyman who attended him, that the like practices had been carried on at the store at Rose Hill by similar means, and with similar success. This was immediately attended to, but no discovery could be made. It was, however, generally believed, that the soldier would not in his dying moments have falsely accused men of a crime which they had never



committed, and that nothing but their constancy to each other had prevented a discovery of their guilt.

While these transactions were passing at Sydney, the little colony at Norfolk Island had been threatened with an insurrection. The "Supply" returned from thence on the 24th, after an absence of five weeks, and brought from Lieutenant King, the commandant, information of the following chimerical scheme:—The capture of the island, and the subsequent escape of the captors, was to commence by the seizure of Mr. King's person, which was intended to be effected on the first Saturday after the arrival of any ship in the Bay, except the "Sirius." They had chosen that particular day in the week, as it had been for some time Mr. King's custom on Saturdays to go to a farm which he had established at some little distance from the settlement; and the military generally chose that day to bring in the cabbage-palm from the woods. Mr. King was to be secured on the way to his farm. A message, in the commandant's name, was then to be sent to Mr. Jamison, the surgeon, who was to be seized as soon as he got into the woods; and the sergeant and the party were to be treated in the same manner. These people being all properly taken care of, a signal was to be made to the ship in the bay to send her boat on shore, the crew of which were to be made prisoners on their landing; and two or three of the insurgents were to go off in a boat belonging to the island, and inform the commanding officer that the ship's boat had been stove on the beach, and that the commandant requested another might be sent on shore; this was also to be captured: and then, as the last act of this absurd scheme, the ship was to be taken, with which they were to proceed to Otaheite, and there establish a settlement. They, however, charitably intended to leave some provisions for the commandant and his officers, and for such of the people as did not accompany them in their escape. This was their scheme, and not one difficulty in the execution of it ever occurred to their imagination: all was to happen with as much facility as it was planned; and, had it not been fortunately revealed to a seaman belonging to the "Sirius," who lived with Mr. King as a gardener, by a female convict that cohabited with him, there was no doubt but all these improbabilities would have been attempted.

On being made acquainted with these circumstances, the commandant took such measures as appeared to him necessary



to defeat them; and several persons confessed the share which they were to have had in the execution of this foolish scheme. Mr. King had hitherto, from the peculiarity of his situation,—secluded from society, and confined to a small speck in the vast ocean, with but a handful of people,—drawn them around him, and treated them with the kind attentions which a good family meets with at the hands of a humane master; but he now saw them in their true colours; and one of his first steps, when peace was restored, was to clear the ground as far as possible round the settlement, that future villainy might not find a shelter in the woods for its transactions. To this truly providential circumstance, perhaps, many colonists afterwards were indebted for their lives.

On Thursday, the 26th of February, the island was visited by a hurricane, which came on early in the morning in very heavy gales of wind and rain. Several pines of one hundred and eighty and two hundred feet in length, and from twenty to thirty feet in circumference, were blown down. The gale had increased by noon to a dreadful degree, with torrents of heavy rain. Every instant pines and live oaks, of the largest dimensions, were borne down by the fury of the blast, which, tearing up roots and rocks with them, left chasms of eight or ten feet depth in the earth. Nothing but horror and desolation everywhere presented itself. A very large live oak-tree was blown on the granary, which it dashed to pieces, and stove a number of casks of flour; but happily, by the activity of the officers and free people, the flour, Indian corn, and stores, were in a short time collected, and removed to the commandant's house, with little loss. The storm now raged with the utmost violence; and by one o'clock there were as many trees torn up by the roots as would have required the labour of fifty men for a fortnight to have felled. Early in the afternoon the Swamp and Vale were overflowed, and had every appearance of a large navigable river. The gardens, public and private, were wholly destroyed; cabbages, turnips, and other plants, were blown out of the ground; and those which withstood the hurricane seemed as if they had been scorched. An acre of Indian corn which grew in the Vale, and which would have been ripe in about three weeks, was totally destroyed\*.

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\*The direction of the hurricane was across the island from the south-east; and, as its fury had blown down more trees than were found lying on the ground when Mr. King landed on it, he conjectured that it was not an annual visitant of the island. This conjecture seems to have been well founded, as nothing of the kind has since occurred there.



The people, however, continued to be healthy, and the climate had not forfeited the good opinion which he had formed of it. He acquainted the Governor, that, for his internal defence, he had formed all the free people in the island into a militia, and that a military guard was mounted every night as a picket. There were at this time victualled on the island sixteen free people, fifty-one male convicts, twenty-three female convicts, and four children.

The arrival of the "Supply" with an account of these occurrences created a temporary variety in the conversation of the day; and a general satisfaction appeared when the little vessel that brought them dropped her anchor again in the Cove. Lieutenant Ball, having lost an anchor at Norfolk Island, did not deem it prudent to attempt to fall in with the shoal seen by the "Golden Grove" store-ship; his orders on that head being discretionary.

We now return to the transactions of the principal settlement. Toward the latter end of this month, two of the birds distinguished in the colony by the name of Emus were brought in by some of the people employed to shoot for the officers. The weight of each was seventy pounds.

The Governor thinking it probable that foreign ships might again visit the coast, and perhaps run into this harbour for the purpose of procuring refreshments, directed Mr. Blackburn to survey a large bay on the north shore, contiguous to this Cove; and, a sufficient depth of water being found, His Excellency inserted in the port orders, that all foreign ships coming into this harbour should anchor in that bay, which he named Neutral Bay, bringing Rock Island to bear S.S.E. and the hospital on the west side of Sydney Cove to bear S.W. by W.

Early in the month of April, and throughout its continuance, the people whose business called them down the harbour daily reported, that they found, either in excavations of the rocks, or lying upon the beaches and points of the different coves, the bodies of many of the wretched natives of the country. The cause of this mortality remained unknown, until a family was brought into the settlement and the disorder pronounced to have been the small-pox. It was not a desirable circumstance to introduce a disorder in to the colony which was raging with such fatal violence among the natives of the country; but the saving of the lives of any of these people



was an object of no small importance, as the knowledge of our humanity and the benefits which might be rendered them, would, it was hoped, do away the evil impressions which they had received. Two elderly men, a boy, and a girl, were received, and placed in a separate hut at the hospital. The men were too far overcome by the disease to derive any benefit from the exertions of the medical gentlemen who attended them; but the children did well. From the native who resided in the settlement it was understood that many families had been swept off by this scourge of the human race; and that others, to avoid it, had fled into the interior parts of the country. Whether it had ever appeared among them before, could not be discovered; but it was certain that they gave it a name (*gal-gal-la*); a circumstance which seemed to indicate a pre-acquaintance with it.

The convicts were at this time employed in forming a convenient road on the west side from the hospital and landing-place to the store-houses; and in constructing a stable at Farm Cove, with some convenient out-houses for stock.

On the recovery of the native boy and girl from small-pox, the latter was taken to live with the wife of the clergyman, and the boy with the head surgeon, to whom, for his attention during the time he was under his care, he seemed to be much attached.

While the eruptions of this disorder continued upon the children, a seaman belonging to the "Supply" was seized with it, and died; but its baneful effects were not experienced by any white person of the settlement, although there were several very young children in it at the time.

It had been greatly feared, from the first introduction of the boy and girl into the settlement, that the native who had been some time there, and whose attention to them during their illness excited the admiration of every one that witnessed it, would take the disorder; as on his person were found none of those traces of its ravages which are frequently left behind. It happened as had been predicted; he fell a victim to the disease in eight days after he was seized with it, to the infinite regret of everyone who had witnessed how little of the savage was found in his manner, and how quickly he was substituting in its place a docile, affable, and truly amiable deportment.



After an absence of seven months and six days, to the great satisfaction of every one, about five in the evening of the 6th of May, His Majesty's ship "Sirius" anchored in the Cove from the Cape of Good Hope. Captain Hunter sailed from that port on the 2nd of October, 1788, and, during the space which had elapsed between his departure and return, had circumnavigated the globe. He made his passage by Cape Horn, arriving on the 2nd of January, 1787, from which place he sailed on the 20th of the following month. Off the southern extremity of this country the "Sirius" met with a gale of wind, when so close in with the land that it was some time doubtful whether she would clear it. In this gale she received considerable damage; the head of the ship was torn from the cutwater, and she was afterwards found to have been very much weakened.

The "Sirius" brought one hundred and twenty-seven thousand weight of flour for the settlement, and a twelve-month's provisions for her ship's company; but this supply was not very flattering, as the short space of four months, at a full ration, would exhaust it. It was, however, very welcome, and her return seemed to have gladdened every heart. Eager were their inquiries after intelligence from that country from which they had been now two years divided, and to whose transactions they had during that time been entire strangers.

With joy, mingled with concern that they were not personal sharers in the triumph, did they hear of their country's successful efforts in the cause of the Stadtholder, and of the noble armaments which the King of England had fitted out to support it. They trusted, however, that while differently employed, their views were still directed to the same object; for though labouring at a distance, and in a humbler scene, yet the good, the glory, and aggrandisement of their country, were prime considerations with them. And why should the colonists of New South Wales be denied the merit of endeavouring to promote them, by establishing civilization in the savage world; by animating the children of idleness and vice to habits of laborious and honest industry; and by showing the world that to Englishmen no difficulties are insuperable?

A Dutch ship, bound for Europe, sailing from the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Hunter had taken the opportunity of forwarding the dispatches with which he had been charged



by Governor Phillip. He was informed by the master of the "Harpy," Whaler, who put into Table Bay, that in England there had been a general anxiety to hear of the safety and arrival of the adventurers at their destined haven, and that government only awaited for this assurance to send out other ships. Of these accounts it was hoped that ministers had been some time in possession, and that in consequence supplies were at this hour on their passage to New South Wales.

From the settlement on Rose Hill, early in the month of May, two soldiers of the detachment doing duty there were reported to be missing. It was supposed that they must have lost their way in some of the thick and almost impenetrable brushes which were in the vicinity of Rose Hill, and had there perished miserably. They had gone in search of the sweet tea plant already mentioned: probably, when they resigned themselves to the fate which they could not avoid, oppressed with hunger, and unable to wander farther, they might have been but a short distance from the relief which they so earnestly sought. A dog which was known to have left the settlement with them reached Rose Hill, almost famished, nine days after they had left it. The extreme danger attendant on a man's going beyond the bounds of his knowledge in the forests of an unsettled country could nowhere be more demonstrable than in this. To the westward was an immense open track before him, in which, if unbefriended by either sun or moon, he might wander until life were at an end. Most of the arms which extended into the country from Port Jackson, and the harbour on each side of Port Jackson, were of great length, and to round them without a certain and daily supply of provisions was impossible. Many of these arms, when viewed from the water, struck the beholders with horror at the bare idea of being lost in them; as, from the great similarity of one cove to another, the recollection would be bewildered in attempting to determine any relative situation. It is certain, that, if destroyed by no other means, insanity would accelerate the miserable end that must ensue.

To guard as much as possible against these accidents, every measure which could be suggested was adopted. A short time after the settlement was established at Rose Hill, the Governor went out with some people in a direction due south, and caused a visible path to be made; that if any person who had strayed beyond his own marks for returning, and knew not where he



was, should cross upon this path, he might by following it have a chance of reaching the settlement; and orders were repeatedly given to prohibit straggling beyond the limits which were marked and known.

The weather during the latter part of May had been cold; notwithstanding which, a turtle was seen in the harbour.

The 4th of June was the second anniversary of His Majesty's birthday commemorated in this country, and was observed with every distinction in the power of the loyal inhabitants of Port Jackson. The Governor received the compliments due to the day in his new house, of which he had lately taken possession as the government-house of the colony, where His Excellency afterwards entertained the officers at dinner, and in the evening some of the convicts were permitted to perform Farquhar's *Comedy of the Recruiting Officer*, in a hut fitted up for the occasion. They professed no higher aim than "humbly to excite a smile," and their efforts to please were not unattended with applause.

The Governor, deeming an increase of the military force of Norfolk Island necessary, dispatched a lieutenant with fourteen privates from the detachment of marines, in the "Supply," for that purpose. This vessel, on her return from Norfolk Island, was to cruise for the shoal seen by Mr. Blackburn, and likewise an island and a shoal seen by Lieutenant Shortland; all of which, if the observations of both officers were equally correct, would, it was supposed, be found contiguous to each other. Lieutenant Ball was directed to land upon the island, if landing should be found practicable; and to determine, if he could, the extent and situation of the shoals.

On these services the "Supply" sailed on the 6th of the month, on which day the Governor set off with a party on a second excursion to Broken Bay, in the hope of being able, from the head of that harbour, to reach the mountains inland. His Excellency returned to the settlement on the evening of the 16th, having discovered a capacious fresh-water river emptying itself into Broken Bay and extending to the westward. He was compelled to return without tracing it to its source, not having a sufficient quantity of provisions with him; but immediately made the necessary preparations for going back to finish his examination of it; and set off on that design



with an increased party, and provisions for twenty-one days, on Monday the 29th.

The "Sirius" had, in the gale of wind which she met with off Tasman's Head, sustained much more damage, and was, upon inspection, found to have been weakened much more than was at first conjectured. This was the greater misfortune, as, from the nature of the situation, many important services were yet to be rendered by her to the colony. It became, therefore, a matter of public concern to have her damages repaired and the ship strengthened as expeditiously and efficaciously as their abilities would admit. She accordingly dropped down to the careening cove towards the latter end of the month.

The gang employed at the brickfields had hitherto only made ten thousand bricks in a month. A kiln was now constructed in which thirty thousand might be burnt off in the same time; which number the overseer engaged to deliver.

On July 14th the Governor returned from his second visit to the river, which he named the Hawkesbury, in honour of the noble lord of that name. He traced the river a considerable distance to the westward, and was impeded in his farther progress by a shallow which he met with a short distance above the hill formerly seen, and then named by him Richmond Hill, to the foot of which the course of the Hawkesbury conducted him and his party. They were deterred from remaining any time in the narrow part of the river, as they perceived evident traces of the freshes having risen to the height of from twenty to forty feet above the level of the water. They represented the windings of the river as beautiful and picturesque, and toward Richmond Hill the face of the country appeared more level and open than in any other part. The vast inundations, which had left such tokens behind them of the height to which they swell the river, seemed rather unfavourable to the purpose of settling near the banks, which otherwise would have been convenient and desirable, the advantages attending the occupation of an allotment of land on the margin of a fresh-water river being superior to those of any other situation. The soil on the banks of the river was judged to be light; what it was further inland could not be determined with any certainty, as the travellers did not penetrate to any distance, except at Richmond Hill, where the soil appeared to be less mixed with sand than that on the branches.



On visiting the settlement of Rose Hill, the convicts were all found residing in very good huts, apparently under proper regulations, and encouraged to work in the gardens, which they had permission to cultivate during such hours as were not dedicated to public labour. A barrack for the soldiers was erected in the small redoubt which had been constructed and in which also stood the provision store. Some ground had been opened on the other side of the stream of water which ran into the creek, where a small house had been built for the superintendent, under whose charge were to be placed a barn and granaries, in which the produce of the ground then tilling with wheat and barley was to be deposited. The people of all descriptions continued very healthy; and the salubrity of the climate rendered medicine of little use.

Notwithstanding little more than two years had elapsed since their departure from England, several convicts about this time signified that the respective terms for which they had been transported had expired, and claimed to be restored to the privileges of free men. Unfortunately, by some unaccountable oversight, the papers necessary to ascertain these particulars had been left by the masters of the transports with their owners in England, instead of being brought out and deposited in the colony; and as, thus situated, it was equally impossible to admit or to deny the truth of their assertions, they were told to wait until accounts could be received; and in the meantime, by continuing to labour for the public, they would be entitled to share the public provisions in the store. This was by no means satisfactory, as it appeared that they expected an assurance from the Governor of receiving some gratuity for employing their future time and labour for the benefit of the settlement. It must be acknowledged, that these people were most peculiarly and unpleasantly situated. Conscious in their own minds that the sentence of the law had been fulfilled upon them, it must have appeared, and certainly was, unjust that they should be compelled to do the duty of convicts, and be considered as such: yet, situated as the Governor was, he had no alternative.

In the infancy of the colony, however, but little was to be gained by their being restored to the rights and privileges of free people; as no one was in possession of such abundance as to afford to support another independent of the public store. Every man, therefore, must have wrought for his provisions;



and if they had been gratified in their expectation of being paid for their labour, the price of provisions would have been found equal, if not superior, to any value that they could have set upon their time and labour for the public. As these considerations must have offered themselves to the notice of many good understandings which were among them, it was conjectured, that the dissatisfaction which evidently prevailed on this subject was set on foot and fomented by some evil-designing spirits and associates in former iniquities. The Governor, however, terminated this business for the present, by directing the Judge-advocate to take the affidavits of such persons as would make oath that they had served the term prescribed by the law, and by recommending them to work for the public until some information should be received from Government on that head.

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CHAPTER IV.

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As every circumstance became of importance that might in its tendency forward or retard the day whereon the colony was to be pronounced independent of the mother-country for provisions, it was soon observed with concern, that hitherto by far a greater proportion of males than females had been produced by the animals which had been taken out for the purpose of breeding. This in any other situation might not have been so particularly noticed; but here, where a country was to be stocked, a litter of twelve pigs whereof three only were females became a subject for conversation and inquiry. Out of seven kids which had been produced in one month, one only was a female; and many similar instances had before occurred; but no particular notice was attracted until their frequency rendered them remarkable. This circumstance excited an anxious care in every one for the preservation of the few females that were produced; and no person entertained an idea of slaughtering one of that sort: indeed, males were so abundant, that fortunately there was no occasion.

On the 7th August Lieutenant Ball returned from Norfolk Island, and from an unsuccessful cruise of nearly six weeks in search of the island and shoals for which he had been instructed to look. He sailed over the identical spot on which Mr. Shortland had fixed the latitudes and longitudes of his island and shoal, without seeing either, and therefore concluded that they had not been placed far enough to the northward.

From Norfolk Island Lieutenant King wrote, that he had cleared seventeen acres of ground upon the public account, all of which were either sown or ready for sowing; that caterpillars had done much damage to some wheat which had just come up; and that he was erecting a store-house capable of containing a large quantity of stores and provisions, besides having made a visible road from Sydney Bay to Cascade Bay. The pine trees, of the utility of which such sanguine hopes had been entertained, were found to be unfit for large masts and yards, being shaky or rotten at thirty or forty feet from



the butt; the wood was so brittle that it would not make a good oar, and so porous that the water soaked through the planks of a boat which had been built of it. Mr. King also lamented their ignorance of the proper mode of preparing the flax plant, which rendered it useless to them. A single pod of cotton had been found on the island, and a tree had been discovered, the bark of which was strong, and of texture like cotton. A species of bird had also been met with which burrowed in the ground, and had been seen in such numbers about the summit of Mount Pitt, the highest hill in the island, that they were contemplated as a resource in any future season of distress, should they be found to visit the island at stated periods, and to deposit their eggs on it. Mr. King spoke well of the general behaviour of the subjects of his little government since the detection of their late scheme to overturn it.

From the frequent commission of offences in this settlement and at Rose Hill, a favourable report could not be given of the conduct of the convicts; it appeared absolutely necessary to devise some plan which might put a stop to their nightly enormities; and the first attempt toward a police was commenced by establishing a night-watch. The following are the heads of the plan:—

The settlement was divided into four districts, over each of which was placed a watch of three persons, one principal and two subordinate watchmen. These, being selected from among those convicts whose conduct and character had been unexceptionable since their landing, were vested with authority to patrol at all hours in the night, to visit such places as might be deemed requisite for the discovery of any felony, trespass, or misdemeanour, and to secure all persons that might appear to be concerned therein. They were required to detain and give information to the nearest guard-house of any soldier or seaman who should be found straggling after the tattoo had been beat. They were to use their utmost endeavours to trace out offenders on receiving accounts of any depredation; and they were likewise to take cognizance of such convicts as gamed, or sold or bartered their slops or provisions, and report them for punishment. A return of all occurrences was to be made to the Judge-advocate; and the military were required to furnish the watch with any assistance of which they might be in need beyond what the civil power could give them.



They were provided each with a short staff to distinguish them during the night, and to denote their office in the colony; and were assured that any negligence or misconduct in the execution of their trust would be punished with the utmost rigour.

It was much to be regretted, that necessity had compelled the Governor, in selecting the first members of this little police, to appoint them from a body of men in whose eyes, it could not be denied, the property of individuals had never before been sacred. But there was not any choice.

The "Sirius," on being closely inspected, was found to be so much weakened, that the repairs which were requisite would require the labour of six months. This was unfortunate; the resources of a king's yard were not to be found in a careening-cove at Port Jackson; people who looked forward beyond the event of the morrow began to think that her services might be wanted before she could be in a condition to render them; and it was considered a matter of the utmost moment, to bestow the labour that she required in as little time and with as much skill as the circumstances of their situation would admit.

Such attentions as were in the power of the gentlemen of the colony were shown to the anniversary of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's birth-day; and although the table of their festivity was not crowded with luxuries or delicacies, yet the glass that was consecrated on that occasion to His Royal Highness's name was, perhaps, in no part of the British dominions accompanied with more sincere wishes for his happiness.

On the 4th of September the people belonging to the "Supply" had a very large haul of fish; their seine was so full, that had they hauled it on shore it must have burst; the ropes of it were therefore made fast on shore, and the seine was suffered to lie until it was left dry by the tide. The fish were brought up to the settlement and distributed among the military and convicts. A night or two after this, a fishing-boat caught about one hundred dozen of small fish; but this was precarious, and, happening after the provisions were served, no other advantage could be derived from the circumstance, than that of every man's having a fish meal.

On the 12th, the butter, which had been served at six ounces per week to each man in the settlement, being expended, the



like quantity of sugar was directed to be issued in its stead. This was the first of the provisions brought from England which had wholly failed; and, fortunately, the failure was in an article which could be best spared. It never had been very good, and was not, strictly speaking, a necessary of life.

Captain Hunter, unwilling to lose any opportunity of rendering a service to the colony, while the repairs of his ship were going on, surveyed the two adjoining harbours of Broken Bay and Botany Bay; and correct charts were thus obtained of these two harbours, so admirably situated with relation to Port Jackson.

The natives, who had for some time past given very little interruption, toward the end of the month attacked one of the quarter-masters of the "Sirius," who, being reckoned a good shot, was allowed to shoot for the officers and ship's company. His account was, that, being in the woods, a stone was thrown at him from one of the two natives whom he perceived behind him, and that on looking about he found dispersed among the trees a number that could not be less than forty. Wishing to intimidate them, he several times only presented his piece toward them; but, finding that they followed him, he at last gave them the contents, which happened to be small shot for birds. These he replaced with buckshot, and got rid of his troublesome and designing followers by discharging his piece a second time. They all made off; but some of them stumbling as they ran, he apprehended they had been wounded. This account met with more credit than could usually be allowed to such tales, as the person who gave it was held in great estimation by the officers of his ship, both as a man and as a seaman.

Mr. Palmer, the purser of the "Sirius," having occasion to cut timber in a cove down the harbour, was visited by some natives, who took an opportunity of concealing two of his axes in the bushes. On his missing the implements, the natives went off in some consternation, leaving two children behind them, whom Mr. Palmer detained, and would have brought up to the settlement, had not their friends ransomed them with the property that had been stolen.

At Rose Hill, where the corn promised well, an emu had been killed, which stood seven feet high, was a female, and when opened was found to contain exactly fifty eggs.



The launch that was begun in May by the carpenter of the "Supply," being completed, was put into the water on the 5th of October. From the quantity of wood used in her construction, she appeared to be a mere bed of timber; and, when launched, was named by the convicts, with a felicity that is sometimes visible in the allusions of the lower order of people, "The Rose Hill Packet": but she was afterwards better known by the title of "The Lump," a term still more appropriate, being strictly applicable to her size and construction. She was very soon employed in transporting provisions to Rose Hill; and going up with the tide of flood, at the top of high water, she passed very well over the flats at the upper part of the harbour.

Their old enemies the rats, who worked unseen, and attacked them where they were most vulnerable, being again observed in numbers about the provision store, the commissary caused the provisions to be moved out of one store into another; for, alas! at this period they could be all contained in one. These pernicious vermin were found to be very numerous, and the damage that they had done was much greater than the state of the stores would admit. From the store, such as escaped the hunger of the different dogs that were turned loose upon them flew to the gardens of individuals, where they rioted upon the Indian corn which was growing, and did considerable mischief.

Of the few people who died in October, (one soldier, three women, and a child,) one was an unhappy woman who had been sent on board in a state of insanity, and who had remained in that condition until the day of her death; another died in child-bed; and the soldier was carried off by a disorder which he brought with him into the country. These circumstances tended to establish the good opinion which was at first formed of the salubrity of the climate of New South Wales.

The month of November opened with a serious, but prudent and necessary alteration in our provisions. The rations which had hitherto been issued was, on the first of the month, reduced to two-thirds of every species; spirits excepted, which continued as usual. This measure was calculated to guard against accidents; and the necessity of it was obvious to every one, from the great uncertainty as to the time when a supply might arrive from England, and from the losses which had been and still were occasioned by rats. Two years' provisions



were landed with them in the colony: they had been within two months of that time disembarked, and the public store had been aided only by a small surplus of the provisions which remained of what had been furnished by the contractor for the passage, and the supply of four months' flour which had been received by the "Sirius" from the Cape of Good Hope. All this did not produce such an abundance as would justify any longer continuance of the full ration; and, although it was reasonable to suppose, as they had not hitherto received any supplies, that ships would arrive before their present stock was exhausted; yet, if the period of distress should ever arrive, the consciousness that they had early foreseen and strove to guard against it would certainly soften the bitterness of their reflections; and, guarding thus against the worst that worst providentially might never happen. The Governor whose humanity was at all times conspicuous, directed that no alteration should be made in the ration to be issued to the women. They were already upon two-thirds of the man's allowance; and many of them either had children who could very well have eaten their own and part of their mother's ration, or they had children at the breast; and although they did not labour, yet their appetites were never so delicate as to have found the full ration too much, had it been issued to them. The ship's companies of the "Sirius" and "Supply" suffered the same reduction.

Thus opened the month of November in this settlement; where, though they had not the accompanying gloom and vapour of their own climate to render it terrific to their minds, yet they had that before them in the midst of all their sunshine, which gave it the complexion of the true November so inimical to their countrymen.

It was soon observed, that of the provisions issued at this ration on the Saturday, the major part of the convicts had none left on the Tuesday night; it was therefore ordered that the provisions should be served in future on Saturdays and Wednesdays. By these means, the days which would otherwise pass in hunger, or in thieving from the few who were more provident, would be divided, and the people themselves be more able to perform the labour which was required from them. Overseers and married men were not included in this order.



On the 7th, Captain Hunter brought the "Sirius" into the cove completely repaired, and she was now in every respect fit for sea. Previous to her quitting the careening cove, Mr. Hill, one of the master's mates, having had some business at Sydney, was landed on his return early in the morning on the north shore, opposite Sydney Cove, from which the walk to the ship was short; but he was never afterwards heard of. Parties were sent day after day in quest of him. Guns were fired from the "Sirius" every four hours, night and day, but without effect. He had met with some fatal accident, which deprived a wife of the pleasurable prospect of ever seeing him return to her and to his friends. He had once before missed his way; and it was reported, when his loss was confirmed, that he declared on the fatal morning, when stepping out of the boat, that he expected to lose himself again for a day or two. His conjecture was more than confirmed; he lost himself for ever, and thus added one to the number of those unfortunate persons who had perished in the woods of this country.

On the 11th, the "Supply" sailed for Norfolk Island, having on board fourteen male and female convicts for that colony. She was to stop at Lord Howe Island, to endeavour to procure turtle for this settlement; a supply of which, in its present situation, would have been welcomed, not as a luxury, but as a necessary of life.

The night-watch was found of infinite utility. The commission of crimes, since their institution, had been evidently less frequent, and they were instrumental in bringing forward for punishment several offenders who would otherwise have escaped. The fear and detestation in which they were held by their fellow-prisoners was one proof of their assiduity; and it possibly might have been asserted with truth, that many streets in the metropolis of London were not so well guarded and watched as the small, but rising town of Sydney, in New South Wales.

The summer was observed to be the chief season of fish. A fishing-boat belonging to the colony had so many fish in the seine, that, had it not burst at the moment of landing, it was imagined that a sufficiency would have been taken to have served the settlement for a day; as it was, a very considerable quantity was brought in; and not long after a boat



belonging to the "Sirius" caught seven-and-forty of the large fish, which obtained among them the appellation of Light Horsemen, from the peculiar conformation of the bone of the head, which gave the fish the appearance of having a light horseman's helmet.

The Governor, after the death of the native who was carried off by the small-pox, never had lost sight of a determination to procure another with the first favourable opportunity. A boat had several times gone down the harbour for that purpose; but without succeeding, until the 25th of this month, when the first lieutenant of the "Sirius," accompanied by the master, fortunately secured two natives, both men, and took them up to the settlement. Being well known to the children, through their means every assurance was given them of their perfect safety. They were taken up to the Governor's, the place intended for their future residence, where such restraint was laid upon their persons as was judged requisite for their security.

The assurances of safety which were given them, and the steps which were taken to keep them in a state of security, were not perfectly satisfactory to the elder of the two; and he secretly determined to take the first opportunity that offered of giving his attendants no farther trouble upon his account. The negligence of his keeper very soon gave him the opportunity that he desired; and he made his escape, taking with him into the woods the fetters which had been riveted to his leg, and which every one who knew the circumstance imagined he would never be able to remove. His companion would have joined him in his flight, but fear detained him a few minutes too late, and he was seized while tremblingly alive to the joyful prospect of escaping.

The huts which were got up on the first landing of the colonials were slight and temporary; every shower of rain washed a portion of the clay from between the interstices of the cabbage-tree of which they were constructed; their covering was never tight; their size was necessarily small and inconvenient; and although they had not hitherto been so fortunate as to discover lime-stone anywhere near, yet to occupy a brick house put together with mortar formed of the clay of the country, and covered with tiles, became, in point of comparative comfort and convenience, an object of some importance.



In the course of this month the harvest was got in; the ground in cultivation at Rose Hill produced upwards of two hundred bushels of wheat, about thirty-five bushels of barley, and a small quantity of oats and Indian corn; all of which was intended to be reserved for seed. At Sydney, the spot of ground called the Governor's Farm had been sown only with barley, and produced about twenty-five bushels.

A knowledge of the interior parts of this extensive country was anxiously desired by every one; but the difficulty of attaining it, and the various employments in which they had all been necessarily engaged, had hitherto prevented any material researches being made. The Governor had penetrated to the westward as far as Richmond Hill, perhaps between fifty and sixty miles inland; but beyond that distance all was a blank. Early in this month Lieutenant Dawes, with a small party, taking with them just as much provisions as they could conveniently carry, set off on an attempt to reach the western mountains by and from the banks of a fresh water river, first seen, some time since, by Captain Tench, and supposed to be a branch of the Hawkesbury. From this excursion he returned on the ninth day, without accomplishing his design, meeting with nothing, after quitting the river, but ravines that were nearly inaccessible. He had, notwithstanding the danger and difficulty of getting on through such a country, reached within eleven miles of the mountains, by computation. During his toilsome march he met with nothing very remarkable, except the impression of the cloven feet of an animal differing from other cloven feet by the great width of the division in each. He was not fortunate enough to see the animal that had made them.

In this journey Lieutenant Dawes's line of march, unfortunately and unpleasantly for him, happened to lie, nearly from his setting out, across a line of high and steep rocky precipices, which required much caution in descending, as well as labour in ascending. Perhaps an open country, which might have led him readily and conveniently to the point which he proposed to attain, was lying at no great distance from him either to his right or left. To seek for that, however, might have required more time than his stock of provisions would have admitted; and he was compelled to return through the same unprofitable country which he had passed.



On the 21st of December, the "Supply" returned from Norfolk Island, having been absent six weeks. Lieutenant King wrote, that he expected his harvest would produce from four to six months' flour for all his inhabitants, exclusive of a reserve of double seed for twenty acres of ground. Besides this promising appearance, he had ten acres in cultivation with Indian corn, which looked very well. His gardens had suffered much by the grub-worm and from a want of rain, of which they had had scarcely any since the 23rd of September. The ground which was cleared for the Crown amounted to about twenty-eight acres, and he was busied in preparations for building a redoubt on an eminence named by him Mount George.

The "Supply," in her visit at Lord Howe Island, turned eighteen turtle; several of which, unluckily, dying before she reached Norfolk Island, she could leave only four there, and but three survived the short voyage from thence to Port Jackson.

The working convicts at Sydney had lately been principally employed in constructing two convenient kitchens and ovens for the use of the detachment, adjoining to the quarters; building a house for the Judge-advocate; forming roads either in or leading to the town; and removing the provisions from the old thatched storehouse to that in the marine quarters, which, being covered with tiles, was not so liable to an accident by fire, nor likely to prove so great a harbour for rats, to guard against whom it had become necessary to take as many precautions as against any other enemy. They, however, defeated every care, by working under ground to get in; and as it was now a matter of much moment to preserve every ounce of provisions that belonged to us, they were all taken out and re-stowed with an attention suitable to their important value.

Numberless thefts and depredations were at this time committed, particularly on the wheat as it ripened; this was generally attributed to the reduction which had taken place in the ration of provisions; and every one dreaded how much the commission of them might be increased, if accident or delay should render a greater reduction necessary.



## CHAPTER V.

Early in January, 1790, the "Supply" sailed again for Norfolk Island, with twenty-two male and two female convicts: on her return she was to touch at Lord Howe Island to procure turtle.

The flour which had been brought from England did not serve much beyond the beginning of this month, and that imported from the Cape now supplied its place. Every one began to look forward with much anxiety to the arrival of supplies from England; and, as it was reasonable to conclude that every day might bring them on the coast, a spot proper for the purpose being marked out, a flag-staff was erected on the South head of the harbour, whence, on the appearance of a ship in the offing, a signal might be made, as well to convey the wished-for information to the settlement, as to serve as a mark for the stranger. To this point were the walks of the inhabitants of Port Jackson daily directed; fondly indulging a pleasing delusion, that the very circumstance of looking out for a sail would bring one into view.

A sufficient quantity of fish having been taken in one night, to admit the serving of two pounds to each man, woman, and child belonging to the detachment, the Governor directed, that a boat should in future be employed three times in the week to fish for the public; and that the whole quantity caught should be issued at the above rate to every person in turn. This allowance was in addition to the ration of provisions; and was received with much satisfaction several times during the month.

The bricklayers were now employed in building a dispensary contiguous to the hospital; the medicines and chirurgical instruments being much exposed to damps in the place where they had necessarily been kept.

The first signal from the flag-staff at the South head was displayed on the 10th of February; and though every imagination first turned to the expected stranger, yet happening about the time at which the "Supply" was expected from Norfolk Island, conjectures soon fixed on the right object; and the temporary



suspense was put an end to, by word being brought that the "Supply," unable to get into Port Jackson, had borne up for Botany Bay, in which harbour she anchored in the dusk of the evening. By her Lieutenant King wrote, that his people continued healthy, and his settlement went on well. His wheat had turned out twenty fold, notwithstanding he had had much dry weather. He stated, that the convicts under his orders had in general very good gardens, and that many of them would have a very large produce of Indian corn.

The "Supply" had not met with any success at Lord Howe Island; so that no dependence was to be placed on the turtle it might furnish. The island had been examined and fresh water found in cavities, but not in any current. The "Supply" had been absent just five weeks.

Lieutenant King having constantly written in high terms of the richness of the soil of Norfolk Island, the Governor, on comparing the situation of the convicts there and in his settlement, where their gardens had not that fertility to boast of, and where the ration from the store was with too many hastily devoured, and with most derived but an uncertain and scanty aid from any other source, determined, and about the middle of the month announced his determination, to detach thither a large body of convicts, male and female, together with two companies of the marines. Some immediate advantages were expected to be derived from this measure; the garden ground that would be left by those who embarked would be possessed by those who remained, while the former would on their arrival at Norfolk Island participate in the produce of luxuriant gardens, in a more constant supply of fish, and in the assistance that was occasionally obtained from the birds which settled on Mount Pitt.

At the same time that this intention was made public, the day of their departure was fixed. The whole were to embark on board the "Sirius" and the "Supply" in the beginning of the following month, and were, if no ship arrived from England to prevent them, to sail on the 5th. Should, unfortunately, the necessity of adopting the measure then exist, the "Sirius" was to proceed to China directly from Norfolk Island to procure a supply of provisions for the colony. China was chosen, under the idea that salt provisions were to be obtained there, and that it was preferable to sending to any of the islands in those seas, or to the Cape of Good



Hope at that season of the year, when the "Sirius" and her crew would have had to encounter the cold and boisterous weather of a winter's passage.

As the numbers on Norfolk Island would be considerably increased by the arrival of this detachment, the Governor thought the presence of a Lieutenant-governor necessary, and commanded Major Ross to hold himself in readiness to act in that capacity. Lieutenant King was to be recalled.

On further consideration, it was deemed most prudent for the "Sirius," after disembarking the troops at Norfolk Island, to return to Port Jackson, not only for the purpose for wooding and watering, but in the hope that the arrival of the expected supplies would ere that time have rendered the voyage unnecessary; and it was but reasonable to suppose that this would happen. The Governor had, in all his dispatches, uniformly declared the strong necessity there was for having at least two years provisions in store for some time to come; and as this information, together with an exact account of the situation of the colony, had been transmitted by seven different conveyances, if only one had arrived safely, it could not reasonably be doubted that supplies would be immediately dispatched. From the length of time too which had elapsed since the departure of the last ships that sailed direct for England (full fifteen months), it was reasonable to suppose that they might arrive within the time that the "Sirius" would be absent.

The month of February passed in the arrangements and preparations requisite on the occasion, to which the weather was extremely unfavourable; heavy rains, with gales of wind, prevailing nearly the whole time. The rain came down in torrents, filling up every trench and cavity which had been dug about the settlement, and causing much damage to the miserable mud tenements which were occupied by the convicts; yet, bad as the weather was, several gardens were robbed, and, as at that time they abounded with melons and pumpkins, these became the objects of depredation in common with other productions of the garden.

March commenced with a reduction in the allowance of spirits to half the usual quantity. Thus was the gradual decrease in the stores followed by a diminution of the before scanty comforts or rather necessities.



One immediate consequence, and that an evil one, was, the effect of the intended embarkation for Norfolk Island. It being found that great quantities of stock were killed, an order was immediately given to prevent the further destruction of an article so essential in their present situation, until some necessary regulations could be published; but the officers and people who were about to embark were not included in this prohibition. The mention of future regulations in this order instantly begat an opinion among the convicts, that on the departure of the ships all the live stock in the colony would be called in, or that the owners would be deprived of the benefits which might result from the possession of it. Under colour, therefore, of its belonging to those who were exempted in the late order, nearly all the stock in the settlement was in the course of a few nights destroyed; a wound being thereby given to the independence of the colony, which could not easily be salved, and whose injurious effects time and much attention alone could remove.

The expected supplies not having arrived on the 3rd, the two companies of marines with their officers and the colours of the corps embarked on board the "Sirius" and the "Supply." With them also embarked the Lieutenant-governor, and the senior assistant-surgeon of the settlement. On the day following, one hundred and sixteen male and sixty-eight female convicts, with twenty-seven children, were put on board; and on the 5th both the ships left the Cove.

Immediately after their departure, the Governor directed his attention to the regulation of the people who were left at Sydney, and to the preservation of what stock remained in the colony. For these purposes, he himself visited the different huts and gardens whose tenants had just quitted them, distributing them to such convicts as were either in miserable hovels, or without any shelter at all. It was true, that by this arrangement the idle found themselves provided for by the labour of many who had been industrious; but they were at the same time assured, that unless they kept in good cultivation the gardens which they were allowed to possess, they should be turned out from the comforts of a good hut, to live under a rock or a tree. That they might have time for this purpose, the afternoon of Wednesday, and the whole of Saturday, in each week, were given to them. Much room was made everywhere by the numbers who had embarked (in all



two hundred and eighty-one persons); the military quarters had a deserted aspect; and the whole settlement appeared as if famine had already thinned it of half its numbers. The little society that had been in the place was broken up, and every man seemed left to brood in solitary silence over the dreary prospect before him.

With respect to the stock, His Excellency directed, that no hogs under three months old should be killed, nor were any to be butchered without information being first given at head-quarters.

Those who bred poultry were left at liberty to dispose of it in such manner as they thought proper; and the commissary was directed to purchase for the use of the hospital such live stock as the owners were desirous of selling, complying with the above regulations, and receiving one shilling a pound as the price.

On the 27th of the month, the long-expected signal not having been displayed, it became necessary to put the colony upon a still shorter ration of provisions. It was a painful but a compulsory duty. The Governor directed that the provisions should in future be served daily; for which purpose the store was to be opened from one to three in the afternoon. The ration for the week was to consist of—

Four pounds of flour,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pounds of pork, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pound of rice; and these were to be issued to every person in the settlement without distinction; but, as the public labour must naturally be affected by this reduction, the working-hours were in future to be from sun-rise, with a small interval for breakfast, until one o'clock: the afternoons were to be allowed the people to receive their provisions and work in their gardens. These alterations in the ration and in the hours of labour, however, were not to commence until the first of the following month.

At Rose Hill similar regulations were made by the Governor. The garden-ground was enlarged; those who were in bad huts were placed in better; and everything was said and done that could stimulate them to be industrious. Still robberies were daily and nightly committed. Damage was also received from the little stock which remained alive; the owners, not having wherewith to feed them, were obliged to turn them loose to browse among the grass and shrubs, or turn up the ground for the fern-root; and as they wandered without any one to



prevent their doing mischief, they but too often found an easy passage over fences and through barriers which were now grown weak and perishing. It was ordered, however, that the stock should be kept up during the night; and every damage that could be proved to have been sustained during that time was to be made good by the owners; or the animals themselves were to be forfeited.

The carpenters were employed in preparing a roof for a new storehouse, those which were first erected being fast decaying. It was never expected to get up a building of one hundred feet in front, which this was designed to be, upon so reduced a ration as the present; but while the people did labour, it was proper to turn that little labour to the public account.

The working gangs being now so much reduced by the late embarkation, the hoy was employed in bringing the timber necessary for this building from the coves where it was cut down and deposited for that purpose. This vessel was, when unemployed for public services, given to the officers, and by them sent down the harbour to procure cabbage-tree for their stock, in the preservation and maintenance of which every one felt an immediate and anxious concern.

The weather had been very wet during this month; torrents of rain again laid every place under water; and many little habitations, which had withstood the inundations of the last month, now suffered considerably.

With the first of April the reduced ration, and the change in the working hours commenced; much time was not consumed at the store, and the people went away to dress the scanty allowance which they had received.

Attention to religious duties was never omitted, and Divine service was performed on the morning of Good Friday; when the convicts were recommended to employ the remainder of it in working in their gardens. But, notwithstanding the evident necessity that existed for every man's endeavouring to assist himself, very few were observed to be so profitably occupied.

As every saving that could be made in the article of provisions was of consequence in the present situation of the stores, it was directed on the 3rd, that such fish as should in future be taken by the public boats should be issued at the store, in the proportion of ten pounds of fish to two pounds and a half of pork; and one hundred and fifty pounds of fish,



which had been brought up before the issuing of provisions commenced on that day, were served out agreeable to that order.

At this time the "Supply" returned from Norfolk Island, with an account of a disaster which depressed even the unthinking part of the inhabitants, and occasioned universal dismay. A load of accumulated evils seemed bursting upon their heads. The ships that had so long been expected with supplies were still anxiously looked for; and the "Sirius," which was to have gone in quest of relief to their distresses, was lost upon the reef at Norfolk Island, on the 19th of the preceding month. This was a blow which, as it was unexpected, fell with increased weight; and on every individual the whole weight seemed to have fallen.

This untoward accident happened in the following manner: Captain Hunter had been extremely fortunate in a passage of only seven days. The soldiers, and most part of the convicts, were landed in Cascade Bay, which happened at the time to be the leeward side of the island. Bad weather immediately ensued, and, continuing for several days, the provisions could not be landed, so high was the surf occasioned by it. This delay, together with a knowledge that the provisions on the island were not adequate to the additional numbers that were now to be victualled, caused him to be particularly anxious to get provisions on shore. The bad weather had separated the "Sirius" from the "Supply"; but meeting with a favourable slant of wind on the 19th, Captain Hunter gained the island from which he had been driven, and stood for Sydney Bay at the south end of it, where he found the "Supply;" and it being signified by signal from the shore, (where they could form the best judgment,) that the landing might be effected with any boat, he brought-to in the windward part of the bay, with the ship's head off the shore. Boats had put off from the ship, it being perceived that she settled very much to leeward, the tacks were got on board, and every sail set that was possible to get her free from the shore. Notwithstanding which, she could not weather the reef off the southwest end of the bay, the wind having at that time shifted very unfavourably. The ship was then thrown in stays, which she missed, being with great difficulty wore clear of the breakers, and brought to the wind on the other tack, when every sail was again set. Finding that she still drifted fast



upon the shore, another attempt was made to stay her; but being out of trim it did not succeed. All the sheets and halyards were then let fly, and an anchor cut away; but before it reached the ground she struck with violence on the reef, very soon bulged, and was irrecoverably lost. Her officers and people were all saved, having been dragged on shore through the surf, on a grating.

This day, which untoward circumstances had rendered so dismal, was remarkably fine, and at the unfortunate moment of this calamity there was very little wind. On the second day after, permission was given to two convicts to go off to the ship, and endeavour to bring on shore what live hogs they might be able to save; but, with all that lamentable want of resolution and consideration which was characteristic of these people when any temptation was placed before them, they both got intoxicated with what liquor had escaped the plunder of the seamen, and set the ship on fire in two places. A light on board the ship being observed from the shore, several shot were fired at it; but the poor wretches would neither put it out, nor come on shore; when a young man, a convict, with great intrepidity went off through the surf, extinguished the fire, and forced them out of the ship.

The Lieutenant-governor, immediately after the loss of the "Sirius," called a council of all the naval and marine officers in the settlement; when it was unanimously determined, that martial law should be proclaimed; that all private stock (poultry excepted) should be considered as the property of the state; that justice should be administered by a court-martial, to be composed of seven officers, five of whom were to concur in a sentence of death; and that there should be two locks upon the door of the public store, whereof one key was to be in the keeping of a person appointed by Captain Hunter in behalf of the seamen; the other to be kept by a person to be appointed in behalf of the military. The day following, the troops, seamen, and convicts, being assembled, these resolutions were publicly read; and the whole confirmed their engagement of abiding by them by passing under the king's colour, which was displayed on the occasion.

The general melancholy which prevailed in the settlement when the above unwelcome intelligence was made public, need not be described; and when the "Supply" came to an anchor in the cove every one looked up to her as to their only remaining hope.



In this exigency, the Governor thought it necessary to assemble all the officers of the settlement, civil and military, to determine on what measures were necessary to be adopted. At this meeting, when the situation of the colony was thoroughly weighed and placed in every point of view, it was determined to reduce still lower what was already too low; the ration was to be no more than two pounds and a half of flour, two pounds of pork, one pint of peas, and one pound of rice, for each person for seven days. This allowance was to be issued to all descriptions of people in the colony, children under eighteen months excepted, who were to have only one pound of salt meat. Every exertion was to be made both at Sydney and at Botany Bay, in fishing for the general benefit. All private boats were to be surrendered to the public use; every effort was to be put in practice to prevent the robbing of gardens; and, as one step toward this, all suspicious characters were secured and locked up during the night. People were employed to kill, for the public, such animals as the country afforded; and every step was taken that could save a pound of the salt provisions in store. It was proposed to take all the hogs in the settlement as public property; but as it was absolutely necessary to keep some breeding sows, and the stock being small and very poor, that idea was abandoned.

It was well known, that the integrity of the people employed in fishing could not be depended upon; the officers of the settlement therefore voluntarily took upon themselves the unpleasant task of superintending them, and the fishing-boat in future never went out without an officer either by day or night; but the quantity of fish taken in this month, after the 7th, was not often much more than equal to supplying the people employed in the boats with one pound of fish per man, which was allowed them in addition to their ration.

The small boats, the property of individuals, were therefore returned to their owners, and the people who had been employed in them, together with the seamen of the "Sirius," now there, were placed in the large boats belonging to the settlement.

Neither was much advantage gained by employing people to shoot for the settlement. At the end of the month only three small kangaroos had been brought in.



The necessity for procuring relief became every day more pressing. The voyage of the "Sirius" to China was at an end; and nothing had yet arrived from England, though hourly expected. It was the natural and general opinion, that their present situation was to be attributed to accident rather than procrastination. It was more probable, that the vessels which had been dispatched by the British Government had met with some distress, that had either compelled them to return, or had wholly prevented them from any further prosecution of the voyage, than that any delay should have taken place in their departure. The Governor, therefore, determined on sending the "Supply" armed tender to Batavia; and, as her commander was most zealously active in his preparation for the voyage, she was soon ready for sea. Her tonnage, however, was trifling, when compared with their necessities. Lieutenant Ball, was, therefore, directed to procure a supply of eight months' provisions for himself, and to hire a vessel and purchase two hundred thousand pounds of flour, eighty thousand pounds of beef, sixty thousand pounds of pork, and seventy thousand pounds of rice; together with some necessaries for the hospital. The expectation of this relief was indeed distant; but it was more to be depended upon than that which might be coming from England. A given time was given for the return of the "Supply"; but it was impossible to say when a vessel might arrive from Europe. In the meantime, whatever might be their distress, it would be some alleviation to look on to a certain fixed period when it might be expected to be removed. Lieutenant Ball's passage lay through the regions of fine weather; and the hope of every one was fixed upon the little vessel that was to convey him; yet it was painful to contemplate their existence as depending upon her safety; to consider that a rough sea, a hidden rock, or the violence of elemental strife, might in one fatal moment precipitate them, with the little bark which had all their hopes on board, to the lowest abyss of misery. In the well-known ability and undoubted exertions of her commander, however, under God, all placed their dependence; and from that principle, when she sailed, instead of predicting mischance, they all, with one wish for her return, fixed and anticipated the period at which it might reasonably be expected.

She sailed on the 17th of April, having on board Lieutenant King, the late commandant of Norfolk Island, who was



charged with the Governor's dispatches for the Secretary of State, and Mr. Miller, the late Commissary, whose ill state of health obliged him to quit the country. Mr. Palmer, the purser of the "Sirius," was appointed in his place. The following was the state of the provisions in the store at this time:—

Pork, 23,851 pounds; beef, 1,280 pounds; rice, 24,455 pounds; pease, 17 bushels; flour, 56,884 pounds; biscuit, 1,924 pounds.

The duration of the "Supply's" voyage was generally expected to be six months; a period at which, if no relief arrived in the meantime from England, they would be found, even at the present miserable allowance, without salt provisions, rice, and pease.

The Governor, from a motive that did him immortal honour, in this season of general distress, gave up three hundred weight of flour which was His Excellency's private property; declaring, that he wished not to see any more at his table than the ration which was received in common from the public store, without any distinction of persons; and to this resolution he rigidly adhered, wishing that if a convict complained, he might see that want was not unfelt even at Government-house.

On the 20th April, the following was the ration issued from the public store to each man for seven days:—

Flour, 2½ pounds; rice, 2 pounds; pork, 2 pounds.

Was this a ration for a labouring man? The two pounds of pork, when boiled, from the length of time that it had been in store, shrunk away to nearly nothing; and, when divided, barely afforded three or four morsels.

The inevitable consequence of this scarcity of provisions ensued; labour stood nearly suspended for want of energy to proceed; and the countenances of the people plainly bespoke the hardships which they underwent. The convicts, however, were employed for the public in the forenoon; and such labour was obtained from them as their situation would allow. The guard-house on the east side was finished and taken possession of during the month.

The Governor had assembled the convicts and informed them that very severe punishment would follow the conviction of persons guilty of robbing gardens; and he at the same time strongly inculcated the absolute necessity that existed for every man to cultivate his own garden. To the few who, from never having been industrious, had not any ground sown or



planted with vegetables, he allotted a small but sufficient spot for their use, and encouraged them in their labour by his presence and directions; but they preferred anything to honest industry, and availed themselves of the peculiar situation of the colony to commit thefts, which it became necessary to punish with great severity. One convict was executed. Those people, though the major part of them were, during the night, locked up, were ever on the watch to commit depredations on the unwary during the hours when they were at large, and never suffered an opportunity to escape them. A female convict was robbed of her week's provisions; and as it was impossible to replace them from the public store, she was left to subsist on what she could obtain from the bounty (never more truly laudable than at this distressing juncture) of others who commiserated her situation. One poor woman about this time killed herself by over-loading her stomach with flour and greens which she had made into a mess.

The expedient of shooting for the public not being found to answer, sixty pounds of pork only having been saved, the game-killers were called in, and the general exertion was directed to the business of fishing.

It was naturally expected, that the miserable allowance which was issued would affect the healths of the labouring convicts. A circumstance occurred in the month of May, which seemed to favour this idea: an elderly man dropped down at the store. Fainting with hunger, and unable through age to hold up any longer, he was carried to the hospital, where he died the next morning. On being opened, his stomach was found quite empty.

The colony had hitherto been supplied with salt from the public stores, a quantity being always shaken off from the salt provisions, and reserved for use by the store-keepers; but the daily consumption of salt provisions was now become so inconsiderable, and they had been so long in store, that little or none of that article was to be procured. Two large iron boilers were therefore erected at the east point of the cove; some people were employed to boil the salt water, and the salt which was produced by this very simple process was issued to the convicts.

The fishing tackle began now to decrease with their other necessities. To remedy this inconvenience, they were driven by necessity to avail themselves of some knowledge which had



been gained from the natives; and a convict, a rope-maker, was employed to spin lines from the bark of a tree which they used for the same purpose.

The native who had been taken in November convinced his captors how far before every other consideration he deemed the possession of his liberty, by very artfully effecting his escape from the Governor's house, where he had been treated with every indulgence, and had enjoyed every comfort which it was in His Excellency's power to give him. He managed his escape so ingeniously, that it was not suspected until he had completed it, and all search was rendered fruitless. The boy and the girl appeared to remain perfectly contented among them, but declared that they knew their countryman would never return.

The greatest quantity of fish caught at any one time during the month of May was two hundred pounds. Once indeed the seine was full; but through either the ignorance or the wilfulness of the people employed to land it, the greatest part of its contents escaped. All together upwards of two thousand pounds were taken in the course of the month, which produced a saving of five hundred pounds of pork at the store, the allowance of thirty-one men for four weeks.

Very little labour could be expected from men who had nothing to eat. Nevertheless, as it was necessary to think of some preparations for the next season, the convicts were employed in getting the ground ready both at Sydney and at Rose Hill for the reception of wheat and barley. The quantity of either article, however, to be now sown, fell far short of what their necessities required.

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CHAPTER VI.

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The first and second days of June were exceedingly unfavourable to the situation of the unhappy colonists of Port Jackson; heavy rain and blowing weather obstructed labour and prevented fishing. But it was decreed, that on the third day they should experience sensations to which they had been strangers ever since their departure from England. About half-past three in the afternoon, to the inexpressible satisfaction of every heart in the settlement, the long-looked-for signal was made for a ship at the South Head. Every countenance was instantly cheered, and wore the lively expressions of eagerness, joy, and anxiety; the whole settlement was in motion and confusion. Notwithstanding it blew very strong at the time, the Governor's secretary, accompanied by two other gentlemen, immediately went off, and at some risk (for a heavy sea was running in the harbour's mouth) reached the ship for which the signal had been made just in time to give directions which placed her in safety in Spring Cove. She proved to be the "Lady Juliana" transport from London, left from Plymouth; from which latter place they learned, with no full degree of wonder and mortification, that she sailed on the 29th July (full ten months before) with two hundred and twenty two female convicts on board.

They had long conjectured, that the non-arrival of supplies must be owing either to accident or delays in the voyage, and not to any backwardness on the part of Government in sending them out. They now found that their disappointment was to be ascribed to both misfortune and delay. The "Lady Juliana," it has been seen, sailed in July last; and in the month of September following His Majesty's ship "Guardian," of forty-four guns, commanded by Lieutenant Edward Riou, sailed from England, having on board (with what was in the "Lady Juliana") two years' provisions for the settlement; a supply of clothing for the marines; together with a large quantity of sails and cordage, with sixteen chests of medicines; fifteen casks of wine; a quantity of blankets and bedding for



the hospital; and a large supply of unmade clothing for the convicts; with an ample assortment of tools and implements of agriculture.

At the Cape of Good Hope Lieutenant Riou took on board a quantity of stock for the settlement, and completed a garden which had been prepared under the immediate inspection of Sir Joseph Banks, and in which there were one hundred and fifty of the finest fruit trees, several of them bearing fruit.

There was scarcely an officer in the colony that had not his share of private property embarked on board of this richly-freighted ship.

But it was as painful then to learn, as it will ever be to recollect, that on the 23rd day of December preceding, the "Guardian" struck against an island of ice in latitude  $45^{\circ} 54'$  south, and longitude  $40^{\circ} 30'$  east, whereby she received so much injury, that Lieutenant Riou was compelled, in order to save her from instantly sinking to throw overboard the greater part of her valuable cargo both on the public and private account. The stock was killed (seven horses, sixteen cows, two bulls, a number of sheep, goats, and two deer), the garden destroyed, and the ship herself saved only by the interposition of Providence, and the admirable conduct of the commander.

The "Guardian" was a fast-sailing ship, and would probably have reached her destined port in the latter end of January or the beginning of February. At that period the large quantity of live stock in the colony was daily increasing; the people required for labour were, comparatively with their present state, strong and healthy; the necessity for dividing the convicts, and sending the "Sirius" to Norfolk Island, would not have existed; the ration of provisions, instead of the diminutions which had been necessarily directed, would have been increased to the full allowance; and the tillage of the ground consequently proceeded in with that spirit which must be exerted to the utmost before the settlement could render itself independent of the mother country for subsistence.

But to what a distance was that period now thrown by this most unfortunate accident, and by the delay which took place in the voyage of the "Lady Juliana"! Government had placed a naval officer in that transport, Lieutenant Thomas Edgar, for the purpose of seeing justice done to the convicts with regard to their provisions, cleanliness, &c., and to guard against



any delays on the voyage. Being directed to follow the route of the "Sirius" and her convoy, he called at Teneriffe and St. Jago, stayed seven weeks at Rio de Janeiro, and one month at the Cape of Good Hope, completing his circuitous voyage of ten months by arriving at Port Jackson on the third day of June, 1790.

On Lieutenant Edgar's arrival at the Cape, he had found the "Guardian" lying there, Lieutenant Riou having just safely regained that port, from which he had sailed but a short time before, with every fair prospect of speedily and happily executing the orders with which he was entrusted, and of conveying to the colony the assistance of which it stood so much in need. Unhappily for them, she was now lying a wreck, with difficulty, and at an immense expense, preserved from sinking at her anchors.

Government had sent out in the "Guardian" twenty-five male convicts, who were either farmers or artificers, with seven persons engaged to serve as superintendents with salaries of forty pounds per annum each. Of these, two, who were professed gardeners, were supposed to be drowned, having left the ship soon after she struck, with several other persons in boats, and not been heard of when the "Lady Juliana" left the Cape. Of five boats which had left the ship, only one, the long boat, conducted her passengers through the perilous undertaking; and she was picked up after many days' sailing, by a French ship.

One-third of the stores and provisions intended for the colony were put on board the transport, the remaining two-thirds were on board the "Guardian"; none of which, it was supposed, would ever reach the settlement, the small quantity excepted (seventy-five barrels of flour) which was put on board the transport at the Cape. The Dutch at that place were profiting by the misfortune of the greatly disappointed inhabitants of Port Jackson; their warehouses being let out at an immense expense to receive such of the provisions and stores as remained on board the "Guardian" when she got in.

In addition to the above distressing circumstance, they learned that one thousand convicts were to sail at the latter end of the last year. The joy which had been diffused by the arrival of the transport was considerably checked by the variety of unpleasant and unwelcome intelligence which she



conveyed. They were informed that their beloved sovereign had been for some months afflicted with a dangerous and alarming illness, though happily now recovered. Their distance from his person had not lessened their attachment; and the day following the receipt of this information, being the anniversary of His Majesty's birth, it was kept with every mark of distinction in their power. The Governor pardoned all offenders who were under confinement; the ration was increased for that day; all the officers of the settlement and garrison dined with the Governor, and drank to the long and happy reign of their gracious King; and Wednesday, the 9th was appointed for a public thanksgiving on occasion of his recovery.

On the 6th, preparations were made for landing the convicts from the "Lady Juliana"; but in the distressed situation of the colony, it was not a little mortifying to find on board the first ship that arrived, a cargo so unnecessary and unprofitable as two hundred and twenty-two females, instead of a cargo of provisions; the most of them, however, appeared in good health, and to have been well treated during their long passage. The supply of provisions on board her was so inconsiderable as to permit only an addition of one pound and a half of flour being made in the weekly ration. Had the "Guardian" arrived, probably the settlement would never more have experienced want.

When the women landed on the 11th, many of them appeared to be loaded with the infirmities incident to old age, and to be very improper subjects for any of the purposes of an infant colony. Instead of being capable of labour, they seemed to require attendance themselves, and were never likely to be any other than a burthen to the settlement, which must sensibly feel the hardship of having to support by the labour of those who could toil, and who at the best were but few, a description of people utterly incapable of using exertion toward their own maintenance.

When the women were disembarked, and the provisions and stores landed, it was found that twenty casks of flour (from the unfitness of the ship to perform such a voyage, being old and far from tight) were totally destroyed. This was a serious loss to them when only four pounds of flour constituted the allowance of that article for a man during seven days.



From this situation of distress, however, they were shortly afterwards effectually relieved, and the colony might be pronounced to be restored to comfort, by the arrival (on the 20th) of the "Justinian" storeship, from England, after a short passage of only five months. This ship was off the entrance of the harbour on the 2nd of the month, and would have arrived before the "Lady Juliana," had not a sudden change of the wind, aided by a current, driven her as far northward as Black Head, where she was very nearly lost, but providentially escaped by coming to an anchor, though close in with some dangerous rocks. The wind was dead on the shore, and the rocks so close when she anchored, that the rebound of the wave prevented the riding any considerable strain on her cable. Had that failed, the inhabitants of Port Jackson would never have seen the "Justinian" or her valuable cargo, which was found to consist of stores and provisions, trusted, it was true, to one ship; but as she had happily arrived in safety, and was full, they all rejoiced that they had not to wait for the arrival of a second before the colony could be restored to its former plenty.

They now learned that three transports might be hourly expected, having on board the thousand convicts of whom they had before heard, together with detachments of a corps raised for the service of this country.

On the day following the arrival of the "Justinian," every thing seemed getting into its former train; the full ration was ordered to be issued; instead of daily, it was to be served weekly as formerly; and the drum for labour was to beat as usual in the afternoons at one o'clock. How general was the wish that no future necessity might ever occasion another reduction of the ration, or an alteration in the labour of the people!

That Norfolk Island, whose situation at this time every one was fearful might call loudly for relief, should as quickly as possible reap her share of the benefit derived from the arrival of those ships, it was intended to send the "Lady Juliana" thither; and, as she required some repairs, without which she could not proceed to sea, carpenters were sent on board her, and employed to sheath her bends, which were extremely defective.

A shop was opened on shore by the master of this ship at a hut lately occupied as a bakehouse for the "Supply," for the



sale of some articles of grocery, glass, millinery, perfumery, and stationery; but the risk of bringing them out having been most injudiciously estimated too highly, as was evident from the increase on the first cost, which could not be disguised, they did not go off so quickly as the owners supposed they would.

A report having been circulated soon after the establishing of this settlement, that a considerable sum of money had been subscribed in England, to be expended in articles for the benefit of the convicts who had embarked, which articles had been entrusted to the Rev. Mr. Johnson, to be disposed of according to the intention of the subscribers, Mr. Johnson wrote to his friends in England to confute this report; and by the accounts lately received, it appeared that no such public collection had ever been made. At Mr. Johnson's request, therefore, the Governor published a contradiction of the above report in the general orders. The convicts had hitherto imagined that they had a right to the articles which had from time to time been distributed among them; but Mr. Johnson thought it necessary that they should know it was to his bounty alone that they were indebted for them, and that, consequently, the partakers of it were to be of his own selection.

The female convicts who had lately arrived attended divine service on the first Sunday after their landing; when Mr. Johnson, with much propriety, in his discourse, touched upon their situation so forcibly as to draw tears from many of these unfortunates, who were not yet so hardened as to be insensible to truth.

Early on the morning of the 23rd, a sail to the northward was discerned from the look-out; but the weather coming on thick it was soon lost sight of. The bad weather continuing, it was not seen again until the 25th, when word was carried to the settlement, that a large ship, apparently under jury-masts, was seen in the offing; and on the following day the "Surprise" transport anchored in the cove from England, having on board, including officers and men, thirty of the New South Wales corps; together with two hundred and eighteen convicts. She sailed on the 19th of January from Portsmouth, in company with two other transports, with whom she parted between the Cape of Good Hope and Port Jackson.

They had the mortification to learn, that the prisoners in this ship were very unhealthy, upwards of one hundred being



at that time on the sick list on board. They had been very sickly also during the passage, and had buried forty-two of these unfortunate people. A portable hospital had most fortunately been received by the "Justinian," and there now appeared but too great a probability that they would soon have patients enough to fill it; for the signal was flying at the South Head for the other transports, and they were expected to be in as unhealthy a state as that which had just arrived.

On the evening of the 28th the "Neptune" and "Scarborough" transports anchored off Garden Island, and were warped into the Cove on the following morning. Nor were they mistaken in their fears of the state in which they might arrive, as by noon the following day, two hundred sick had been landed from the different transports. The west side afforded a scene truly distressing and miserable; upwards of thirty tents were pitched in front of the hospital (the portable one not being yet put up); all of which, as well as the adjacent huts, were filled with people, many of whom were labouring under the complicated diseases of scurvy and dysentery, and others in the last stage of either of those terrible disorders, or yielding to the attacks of an infectious fever.

The appearance of those who did not require medical assistance was lean and emaciated. Several of these miserable people died in the boats as they were rowing on shore, or on the wharf as they were lifted out of the boats; both the living and the dead exhibited more horrid spectacles than had ever been witnessed in that country. All this was to be attributed to confinement, and of the worst species, confinement in a small space and in irons, not put on singly, but many of them chained together. On board the "Scarborough" a plan had been formed to take the ship, which would certainly have been attempted, but for a discovery which was fortunately made by one of the convicts who had too much principle to enter into it. This necessarily, on board of that ship, occasioned much future circumspection; but Captain Marshall's humanity considerably lessened the severity which the insurgents might naturally have expected. On board the other ships, the masters who had the entire direction of the prisoners, never suffered them to be at large on deck, and but few at a time were permitted there. This consequently gave birth to many diseases.



It was said that on board the "Neptune" several had died in irons; and what added to the horror of such a circumstance was, that their deaths were concealed, for the purpose of sharing their allowance of provisions, until chance, and the offensiveness of a corpse, directed the surgeon, or some one who had authority in the ship, to the spot where it lay.

A contract had been entered into by Government with Messrs. Calvert, Camden, and King, merchants, of London, for the transporting of one thousand convicts, and Government engaged to pay £17 7s. 6d. per head for every convict they embarked. This sum being as well for their provisions as for their transportation, no interest for their preservation was created in the owners, and the dead were more profitable (if profit alone was consulted by them, and the credit of their house was not at stake) than the living. The following accounts of the numbers who died on board each ship were given in by the masters:

	Men.	Women.	Children.
On board the "Lady Juliana"	0	5	2
The "Surprise"	42	0	0
The "Scarborough"	68	0	0
The "Neptune"	151	11	2
	—	—	—
Total	261	16	4
	—	—	—

All possible expedition was used to get the sick on shore; for even while they remained on board many died.

Parties were immediately sent into the woods, to collect the acid berry of the country, which for its extreme acetosity was deemed by the surgeons a most powerful antiscorbutic. Among other regulations, orders were given for baking a certain quantity of flour into pound loaves, to be distributed daily among the sick, as it was not in their power to prepare it themselves. Wine and other necessities being given judiciously among those whose situations required such comforts, many of the wretches had recourse to stratagem to obtain more than their share, by presenting themselves, under different names and appearances, to those who had the delivery of them, or by exciting the compassion of those who could order them.



Blankets were sent to the hospital in sufficient numbers to make every patient comfortable; notwithstanding which, they watched the moment when any one died to strip him of his covering (although dying themselves), and could only be prevented by the utmost vigilance from exercising such inhumanity in every instance.

On the arrival of the "Scarborough," an instance of sagacity in a dog occurred, too remarkable to pass unnoticed. Mr. Marshall, the master of the ship, on quitting Port Jackson in May, 1799, left a Newfoundland dog which he had brought from England, with a friend. On the return of his old master, Hector swam off to the ship, and, getting on board, recognised him, and manifested, in every manner suitable to his nature, his joy at seeing him; nor could the animal be persuaded to quit him again, accompanying him always when he went on shore, or returned to the ship.

At a muster of the convicts, one man only during the month of June was unaccounted for, and his body was afterwards found drowned in Long-cove at the back of the settlement. Upon inquiry into the cause of his death, it appeared that he had been detected in stealing some tobacco from a garden in which he had been employed, and, on being threatened with punishment, had absconded. He was considered as a well-behaved man; and as he appears to have preferred death to shame and punishment, which he had indeed been heard to declare he did, and which his death seems to confirm, humanity will deem him worthy of a better fate.

The total number of sick on the last day of June was three hundred and forty-nine.

The melancholy which closed the month of June appeared unchanged in the beginning of July. The morning generally opened with depositing in the burying-ground the miserable victims of the night. Every exertion was made to get up the portable hospital; but, notwithstanding they had been assured that it had been put up in London in a very few hours, they could not complete it until the 7th, when it was instantly filled with patients. On the 13th, there were four hundred and eighty-eight persons under medical treatment, at and about the hospital—a dreadful sick list!

Such of the convicts from the ships as were in a tolerable state of health were sent to Rose Hill, to be employed in agricultural and other labour. A subaltern's detachment from



the New South Wales corps was at the same time sent there to assist the marine corps in performing the military duty. There also the Governor in the course of the month laid down the lines for a regular town. The principal street was marked out to extend one mile, commencing near the landing-place, and running in a direction west, to the foot of the rising ground named Rose Hill, on which His Excellency purposed to erect a small house for his own residence whenever he should visit that settlement. On each side of this street, whose width was to be two hundred and five feet, huts were to be erected capable of containing ten persons each, and at the distance of sixty feet from each other; and garden ground for each hut was allotted in the rear. As the huts were to be built of such combustible materials as wattles and plaster, and to be covered with thatch, the width of the street, and the distance that they were placed from each other, operated as a useful precaution against fire; and by beginning on so wide a scale the inhabitants of the town at some future day would possess their own accommodations and comforts more readily, each upon his own allotment, than if crowded into a smaller space.

While these works were going on at Rose Hill, the labouring convicts at Sydney were employed in constructing a new brick storehouse, discharging the transports, and forming a road from the town to the brick-kilns, for the greater ease and expedition in the bringing in of bricks to the different buildings.

The stores now wore a more respectable appearance than they had done for a long time. In addition to the provisions put on board the transports in England, Lieutenant Riou had forwarded by those ships four hundred tierces of beef and two hundred tierces of pork, which he had saved from the wreck of the "Guardian," and which they had the satisfaction to find were nothing the worse for the accident which befel her.

The "Lady Juliana" being found on inspection to require such extensive repairs as would too long delay the dispatching of the necessary supplies to Norfolk Island, the Governor directed the "Surprise" transport and "Justinian" storeship to proceed thither. The latter, however, being first ready for sea, sailed on the 28th, the Captain being directed to follow his former orders after landing his stores at Norfolk Island, and proceed to Canton to freight home with teas upon account of Government. By this ship the Governor sent dispatches



to the Secretary of State. The "Lady Juliana" sailed a day or two after for Canton. From the extravagant price set upon his goods by the master, his shop had turned out badly; and it was said that he took many articles to sea which he must of necessity throw overboard before he reached Canton.

The Governor had by these ships dispatches from the Secretary of State, containing, among other articles of information, instructions respecting the granting of lands and the allotting of ground in townships. Soon after their arrival it was declared in public orders:

That, in consequence of the assurances that were given to the non-commissioned officers and men belonging to the detachment of marines, on their embarking for New South Wales (that such of them as should behave well should be allowed to quit the service on their return to England or be discharged abroad upon the relief, and permitted to settle in that country), His Majesty had been graciously pleased to direct the following terms to be held out as an encouragement to such non-commissioned officers and private men of the marines as might be desirous of becoming settlers either at Port Jackson, or in any of the islands comprised within the government of the continent of New South Wales, on the arrival of the corps raised and intended for the service of that country, and for their relief, viz.

To every non-commissioned officer, an allotment of one hundred and thirty acres of land, if single; and one hundred and fifty, if married.

To every private man, eighty acres of land, if single, one hundred, if married; and ten acres of land for each child at the time of granting the allotment; free of all taxes, quit-rents, and other acknowledgments, for the term of five years; at the expiration of which term to be liable to an annual quit-rent of one shilling for every fifty acres.

As a further acknowledgment, a bounty was offered of three pounds per man to every non-commissioned officer and private man who would enlist in the new corps (to form a company to be officered from the marines); and an allotment of double the above proportion of land, if they behaved well for five years, to be granted them at the expiration of that time; the said allotments not to be subject to any tax for ten years.

And at their discharge, at either of the above periods, they were to be supplied with clothing and one year's provisions,



with seed-grain, tools, and implements of agriculture. The service of a certain number of convicts was to be assigned to them for their labour when they could make it appear that they could feed and clothe them. In these instructions no mention was made of granting lands to officers; and to other persons who might emigrate and be desirous of settling in this country, no greater proportion of land was to be allotted than what was to be granted to a non-commissioned officer of the marines.

Government, between every allotment, reserved to itself a space equal to the largest grant, on either side, which, as Crown land, was not to be granted, but leased only to individuals for the term of fourteen years.

Provision was made for the church, by allotting in each township, which should be marked out, four hundred acres for the maintenance of a minister; and half of that number was to be allotted for the maintenance of a school-master. If the allotment should happen to be made on the banks of any navigable river, care was to be taken that the breadth of each track did not extend along the banks more than one-third of the length of such track, in order that no settler should engross more than his proportion of the benefit which would accrue from such a situation. And it was directed, that the good and the bad land should be as equally divided as circumstances would allow. The original instructions (under which each male convict emancipated or discharged, if single, was to have thirty, if married, fifty, and ten acres for every child that he might have at the time of settling), remained in force.

The particular conditions required by the Crown from a settler were, the residing upon the ground, proceeding to the improvement and cultivation of his allotment, and reserving such of the timber thereof as might be fit for naval purposes for the use of His Majesty.

About the latter end of July a spermaceti whale was seen in the harbour, and some boats went after it with harpoons; but, from the ignorance of the people in the use of them, the fish escaped unhurt. In a few days afterwards a punt belonging to one of the officers was pursued by a whale and upset; by which accident a midshipman of the "Sirius" and two soldiers were unfortunately drowned.

The sick list now consisted of only three hundred and thirty-two persons, and was found to be daily decreasing: the



mortality was infinitely less at the end than at the beginning of the month.

The "Surprise" sailed on the first of August for Norfolk Island, having on board thirty-five male and one hundred and fifty female convicts, with two superintendents, a deputy commissary, and an assistant-surgeon.

On the 8th of the month the "Scarborough" sailed for Canton, and the "Neptune" was preparing to follow her; when some of the convicts, who had come out in that ship, put in before the Judge-advocate their claims upon the Master, Mr. Donald Trail, not only for clothing and other articles, but for money, which they stated to have been taken from them at the time of their embarkation, and which had never been restored to them. Many of these claims were disputed by Mr. Trail, and others were settled to the satisfaction of the claimants; but of their clothing, knives, buckles, &c., he could give no other account, than that he was directed by the naval agent to destroy them at their embarkation for obvious reasons, tending to the safety of the ship and for the preservation of their healths.

The "Neptune" sailed on the 24th; previous to which, information having been received that several convicts purposed making their escape from the colony in her, the Governor sent an armed party of soldiers to search the ship, when two men and one woman were found concealed among the fire-wood. They were taken on shore, and the men punished for their attempt.

An excursion into the country had, in the course of the month, been made by some officers. They were absent six days; and on their return reported, that they had proceeded in a direction S.S.W. of Rose Hill; that they met with fresh water running to the northward; found the traces of natives wherever they went; passed through a very bad country, intersected everywhere with deep ravines; and had reason to think that in rainy weather the run of water which they met with rose above its ordinary level between thirty and forty feet. They saw a flock of emus, twelve in number.

It having been found that the arms and ammunition which were entrusted to the convicts residing at the distant farms for their protection against the natives, were made a very different use of, an order was given, recalling them, and prohibiting any convicts from going out with arms, except those who were licensed game-killers.



The clergyman complaining of non-attendance at divine service, which, it must be observed, was generally performed in the open air, alike unsheltered from wind and rain, as from the fervour of the summer's sun, it was ordered that three pounds of flour should be deducted from the ration of each overseer, and two pounds from that of each labouring convict, who should not attend prayers once on each Sunday, unless some reasonable excuse for their absence should be assigned.

In this month one convict was executed for sheep-stealing. The preservation of stock was an object of so much consequence to the colony, that it had become indispensably necessary to protect it by every means in their power. Had any lenity been extended to this offender, it might have been the cause of many depredations being made upon the stock, which it was hoped his punishment would prevent.

The female convicts were now employed in making the slops for the men, which had been sent out unmade. Each woman that could work at her needle had materials for two shirts given her at a time; and, while so employed, was not to be taken for any other labour.

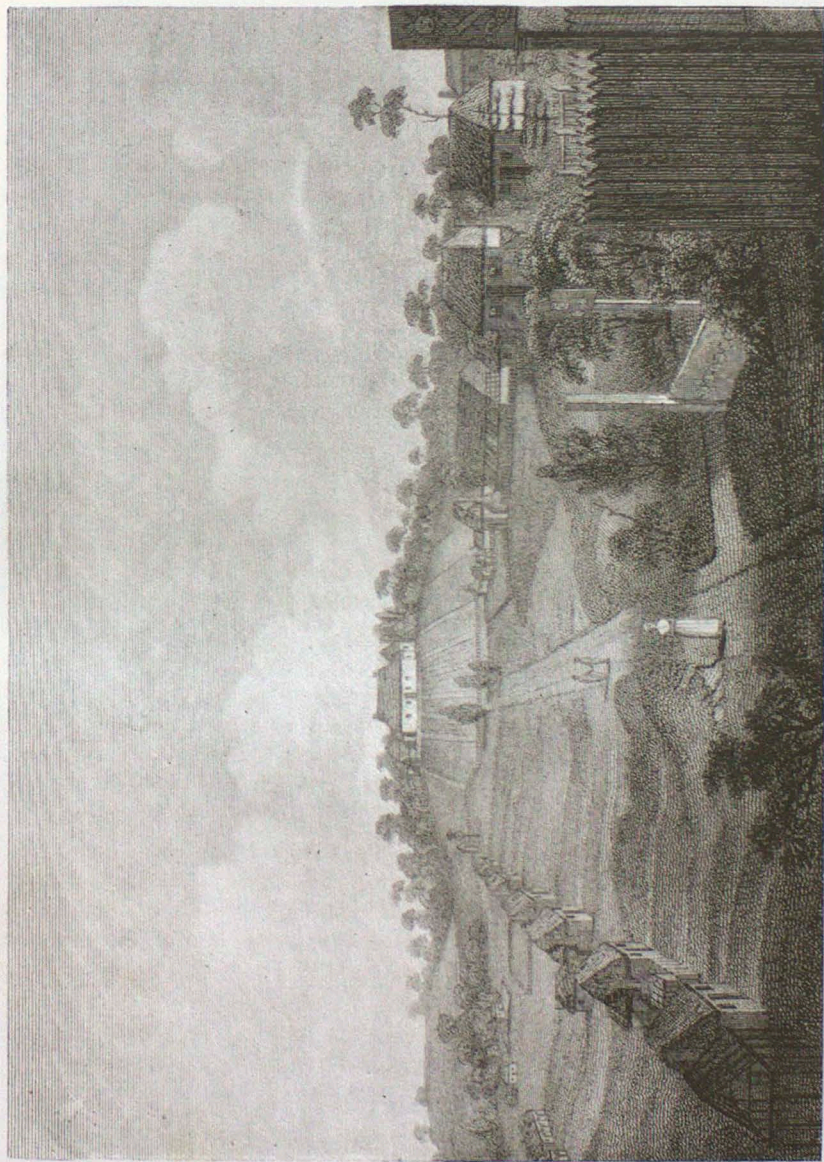
The storehouse which was begun in July was finished during this month. Its dimensions were, one hundred feet by twenty-two.

At Rose Hill the convicts were employed in constructing the new town which had been marked out, building the huts, and forming the principal street. The Governor, who personally directed all these works, caused a spot of ground for a capacious garden to be allotted for the use of the New South Wales corps, contiguous to the spot whereon His Excellency meant to erect barracks for that corps.

The whale that occasioned the overturning of a boat, by which three lives were lost, had never found its way out of the harbour, but, getting on shore in Manly Bay, was killed by the natives, and was the cause of numbers of them being assembled to partake of the repasts which it afforded them.

Since the escape of Bennillong, the native, in May, nothing had been heard of him, nor had anything worthy of notice occurred among the other natives. In the beginning of September, they were brought forward again by a circumstance which seemed at first to threaten the colony with a loss that must have been for some time severely felt; but which was succeeded by an opening of that amicable intercourse with





A View of the Governor's House at Rose-hill, in the Township of Parramatta.







these people which the Governor had always laboured to establish, and which was at last purchased by a most unpleasant accident to himself, and at the risk of his life.

Governor Phillip, who had uniformly directed every undertaking in person since the formation of the colony, went down in the morning of the 7th to the South Head, accompanied by two officers, to give some instructions to the people employed in erecting a column at that place. As he was returning to the settlement, he received information, by a boat which had landed some gentlemen in the lower part of the harbour, who were going on an excursion to Broken Bay, that Bennillong had been seen there by them, and had sent the Governor, as a present, a piece of the whale which was then lying in the wash of the surf on the beach. Anxious to see him again, the Governor, after taking some arms from the party at the Look-out (which he thought the more requisite in this visit, as he heard that the cove was full of natives), went down and landed at the place where the whale was lying. There he not only saw Bennillong, but Cole-be also, who had made his escape from the Governor's house a few days after his capture. At first His Excellency trusted himself alone with these people; but the few months that Bennillong had been away had so altered his person, that the Governor, until joined by his companions, did not perfectly recollect his old acquaintance. This native had been always much attached to Captain Collins, one of the gentlemen then with the Governor, and testified with much warmth his satisfaction at seeing him again. Several articles of wearing apparel were given to him and his companions (taken for that purpose from the people in the boat, but who all but one man, remained on their oars to be ready in case of any accident); and a promise was extracted from His Excellency by Bennillong to return in two days with more, and also with some hatchets or tomahawks. The cove was full of natives allured by the attractions of a whale-feast; and it being remarked, during the conference, that twenty or thirty of them were drawing into a circle round the Governor and his friends (who had most inexcusably exposed themselves), the Governor proposed retiring to the boat by degrees; but Bennillong, who had presented to him several natives by name, pointed out one, whom the Governor, thinking to take particular notice of, stepped forward to meet, holding out both his hands towards him. The savage not understanding



this civility, and perhaps thinking that he was going to seize him as a prisoner, lifted a spear from the grass with his foot, and, fixing it on his throwing-stick, in an instant darted it at the Governor. The spear entered a little above the collar-bone, and had been discharged with such force that the barb of it came through on the other side. Several other spears were thrown, but happily no further mischief was effected. The spear was with difficulty broken by one of the gentlemen present; and while the Governor was walking down to the boat the people landed with the arms; but of four muskets which they brought on shore one only could be fired.

The boat had five miles to row before it reached the settlement; but, the people in her exerting themselves to the utmost, the Governor was in his house in something less than two hours. The spear was extracted with much skill by one of the assistant-surgeons, who immediately pronounced the wound not mortal.

No other motive could be assigned for this conduct in the savage, than the supposed apprehension that some ill was intended him by the Governor; but it certainly would not have happened had the precaution of taking even a single musket on shore been attended to. The Governor had always placed too great a confidence in these people under an idea that the sight of firearms would deter them from approaching; he had now, however, been taught a lesson which, it might be presumed, he would never forget.

This accident gave cause to the opening of a communication between the natives and the settlement; which, although attended with such an unpromising beginning, it was hoped would be followed with good consequences.

A few days after the accident, Bennillong, who certainly had not any culpable share in the transaction, came with his wife and some of his companions to a cove on the North shore not far from the settlement; where, by means of Boo-roong, the female who lived in the clergyman's house, an interview was effected between the natives and some officers, who, at considerable personal risk, went over with her.

At this time the name of the man who wounded the Governor was first known to be Wil-le-me-ring; and Bennillong made many attempts to fix a belief that he had beaten him severely for the aggression. Bennillong declared, that he would wait in that situation for some days, and hoped that the Governor



would be able, before the expiration of them, to visit him. On the tenth day after he had received the wound, His Excellency was so far recovered as to go to the place, accompanied by several officers, all armed. Here he saw Bennillong and his companions. Bennillong repeated the assurances of his having, in conjunction with his friend Cole-be, severely beaten Wil-le-me-ring, and added, that his throwing the spear at the Governor was entirely the effect of his fears, and done from the impulse of self-preservation.

The day preceding the Governor's visit, the fishing boats had the greatest success that had yet been met with; near four thousand of a fish, named by the inhabitants, from its shape only, the salmon, being taken at two hauls of the seine. Each fish weighed on an average about five pounds; they were issued both at Port Jackson and Rose Hill; and between thirty and forty were sent as a conciliating present to Bennillong and his party on the North shore.

These circumstances, and the visit to the natives, in which it was endeavoured to convince them that no animosity was retained on account of the late accident, nor resentment harboured against any but the actual perpetrator of the fact, created a variety in the conversation of the day; and those who were desirous of acquiring the language were glad of the opportunity which the recently-opened intercourse seemed to promise them.

In the night of the 26th, a desertion of an extraordinary nature took place. Five male convicts conveyed themselves in a small flat boat called a punt, from Rose Hill, undiscovered. They here exchanged the punt for a boat, though very small and weak, with a mast and sail, with which they got out of the harbour. On sending to Rose Hill, people were found who could give an account of their intentions and proceedings, and who knew that they purposed steering for Otaheite, having each taken provisions for one week, their clothes and bedding, three iron pots, and some other utensils of that nature. They had all come out in the last fleet, and took this method of speedily accomplishing their sentences of transportation, which were for the term of their natural lives. A boat was sent in search, but returned without discovering the least trace of them. They, no doubt, had pushed directly out upon that ocean which, from the wretched state of the boat wherein they trusted themselves, must have proved their grave.



The Governor purposing to erect a capacious storehouse and a range of barracks at Rose Hill, a convict, who understood the business of brick-making, was sent up for the purpose of manufacturing a quantity sufficient for those buildings; a vein of clay having been found which it was supposed would burn into good bricks. A very convenient wharf and landing-place were made at the settlement, and twenty-seven huts were in great forwardness at the end of the month.

Very slight hopes were entertained of the wheat of this season; for extremely dry weather was daily burning it up. Toward the latter end of the month some rain fell, the first that had deserved the name of rain since June: but the little which now fell soon ceased; and in October the gardens and the corn grounds were again parching for want of moisture. The grass in the woods was so dried, that a single spark would have set the surrounding country in flames: an instance of this did happen early in the month, with the wind blowing strong at N.W. The fire was, however, happily checked.



## CHAPTER VII

Bennillong, after appointing several days to visit the Governor, at last made his appearance, attended by three of his companions. The welcome reception which they met with from every one who saw them, inspired the strangers with such a confidence in their entertainers, that the visit was soon repeated; and at length Bennillong solicited the Governor to build him a hut at the extremity of the eastern point of the cove. This the Governor, who was very desirous of preserving the friendly intercourse which now subsisted, readily promised, and gave the necessary directions for its being built.

While they were thus amusing themselves with these children of ignorance, the signal for a sail was made at the South Head; and shortly after the "Supply" anchored in the cove from Batavia, having been absent from the settlement six months and two days. Lieutenant Ball had arrived at Batavia on the 6th of July, where he hired a vessel, a Dutch snow, which was to sail shortly after him with the provisions that he had purchased for the colony. While the "Supply" lay at Batavia the season was more unhealthy than had ever been known before; every hospital was full, and several hundreds of the inhabitants had died. Lieutenant Ball, at this grave of Europeans, buried his lieutenant, his gunner, and several of his seamen. He had tried for some days to touch at Norfolk Island, but ineffectually, being prevented by an easterly wind.

By the return of this vessel several comforts were introduced into the settlement; her commander having paid the kindest attention to the wants of the officers by procuring their respective investments.

In his passage to Batavia, Lieutenant Ball had seen some islands; to which, conjecturing, from not finding them in any charts which he had on board, that he might claim being the discoverer of them, he gave names accordingly. Although anxious to make an expeditious passage, he had the mortification of being baffled by contrary winds both to and from Batavia; and at that settlement, instead of finding the



Governor-general (to whom in his orders he was directed to apply for permission to purchase provisions, and for a ship to bring them) ready to forward the service that he came upon, which he represented as requiring the utmost expedition, he was referred to the Sabandhaar, Mr. N. Engelhard, who, after much delay and pretence of difficulty in procuring a vessel, produced one, a snow, which they estimated at three hundred and fifty tons burthen, and demanded to be paid for her at the rate of eighty rix-dollars for every ton freight, amounting together to twenty-eight thousand rix-dollars, each rix-dollar being computed at forty-eight Dutch pennies; and the freight was to be paid although the vessel should be lost on the passage.

As it was impossible to hire any vessel there upon more reasonable terms, Lieutenant Ball was compelled to engage the one offered. Of the provisions that he was instructed to procure the whole quantity of flour (two hundred thousand pounds) was not to be had, he being able to purchase only twenty thousand and twenty-one pounds, for which they charged ten stivers per pound; an addition of about one-third of a penny per pound was charged for grinding it, making, with the charge for the leagers which contained it, and exclusive of the freight, every pound of flour cost as nearly as possible tenpence three farthings. To make up the deficiency in the flour, Lieutenant Ball purchased two hundred thousand pounds of rice, at one rix-dollar and forty-four stivers per hundred weight, over and above the seventy thousand pounds that he had been directed to procure. The salt provisions were paid for at the rate of seven stivers per pound; and the amount of the whole cargo, including casks, wood for dunnage, hire of coolies, and of craft for shipping the provisions, made a total of fifty-eight thousand four hundred and forty-one rix dollars and thirty-three stivers, or £11,688 sterling.

The criminal court had been twice assembled during the month of October, when several were tried for felony; two of whom, old and hardened offenders, were executed.

Early in November the weather evidently became warmer every day; and although the trees had never lost their foliage, yet they gave manifest signs of returning spring.

A small boat which had been sent out with a seine was lost somewhere about Middle Head. She had five convicts in her; and from the reports of the natives, who were witnesses of the



accident, it was supposed that they had crossed the harbour's mouth, and, having hauled the seine in Hunter's Bay, were returning loaded, when, getting in too close with the rocks and the surf under Middle Head, she filled and went down. The first information that any accident had happened was given by the natives, who had secured the rudder, the mast, an oar, and other parts of the boat, which they had fixed in such situations as were likely to render them conspicuous to any boat passing that way. Some gentlemen going down soon after found their information too true. One of the bodies was lying dead upon the beach.

This appeared to be a striking instance of the good effect of the intercourse which had been opened with these people; and there seemed wanting only a good understanding between the parties to establish that harmony which might prove productive of the best consequences, and would, most probably, had it earlier commenced, have been the means of preventing many of the unfortunate accidents which had happened. The Governor, however, thought it necessary to direct, that offensive weapons should not be given to these people in exchange for any of their articles; being apprehensive that they might use them among themselves, and not wishing by any means to arm them against each other.

A storehouse had been erected at Rose Hill during this month; the dimensions of which were one hundred feet by twenty-four. The bricks there, either from some error in the process, or defect in the clay, were not so good as those made at Sydney. In their colour they were of a deep red when burned, but did not appear to be durable.

At Sydney, a good landing-place on the east side was completed; and two small brick huts, one for a cutler's shop, and another for the purpose of boiling oil or melting tallow, were built on the same side. A wharf was also marked out on the west side, which was to be carried far enough out into deep water to admit of the loaded hoy coming alongside at any time of the tide. The hut, a brick one twelve feet square and covered with tiles, was finished for Bennillong, and taken possession of by him.

The temporary barrack which had been erected within the redoubt at Rose Hill going fast to decay, the foundation of a range of brick buildings for the officers and soldiers stationed there was laid early in December. The Governor fixed the



situation contiguous to the storehouse lately erected there, to which they might serve as a protection. They were designed as quarters for one company, with the proper number of officers, a guard-room, and two small store-rooms.

On the 10th of December a convict, employed by Governor Phillip to shoot for him, was dangerously wounded by a native named Pe-mul-wy\*, while in quest of game at some considerable distance in the woods. When brought in, he declared, and at a time when he thought himself dying, that he did not give any offence to the man who wounded him; that he had even quitted his arms, to induce him to look upon him as a friend, when the savage threw his spear at about the distance of ten yards, with a skill that was fatally unerring. When the spear was extracted (which was not till suppuration took place) it was found to have entered his body under the left arm, to the depth of seven inches and a half, and was armed for five or six inches from the point with ragged pieces of shells fastened in gum. His recovery was pronounced by the surgeon to be very doubtful.

As the attack on this man appeared to have been wanton and entirely unprovoked, not only from the sufferer's own relation of the circumstance, but from the account of those who were with him, and who bore testimony to his being unarmed, the Governor determined to punish the offender, who, it was understood, resorted with his tribe above the head of Botany Bay. He therefore directed that an armed party from the garrison should march thither, and either destroy or make prisoners of six persons (if practicable) of that tribe to which the aggressor belonged, carefully avoiding to offer any injury to either women or children. To this measure His Excellency resorted with reluctance. He had always wished that none of their blood might be shed; and in his own case, when wounded by the native, as he could not punish him on the spot, he gave up all thought of doing it in future. As, however, they seemed to take every advantage of unarmed men, some check appeared absolutely necessary. Accordingly a party, consisting of two captains, with two subalterns, three sergeants, two corporals, one drummer, and forty privates, attended by two surgeons, set off with three days' provisions for the purpose above-mentioned.

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\*His name was readily obtained from those natives who visited the settlement.



There was little probability that such a party would be able so unexpectedly to fall in with the people whom they were sent to punish, as to surprise them, without which chance they might hunt them in the woods for ever; and as the different tribes were not to be distinguished from each other, but by being found inhabiting particular residences, there would be some difficulty in determining, if any natives should fall in their way, whether they were the objects of their expedition, or some unoffending family wholly unconnected with them. The very circumstance, however, of a party being armed and detached purposely to punish the man and his companions who had wounded a white man, was likely to have a good effect; as it was well known to several natives, who were at this time in the town of Sydney, that this was the intention with which they were sent out.

On the third day after their departure they returned without having hurt a native, or made a prisoner. They had seen some at the head of Botany Bay, and fired at them, but without doing any injury. Whenever the party was seen by the natives, they fled with incredible swiftness; nor had a second attempt, which the Governor directed, any better success.

The Governor, now determining to avail himself as much as possible of the health and strength of the working convicts, while by the enjoyment of a full ration they were capable of exertion, resolved to proceed with such public buildings as he judged to be necessary for the convenience of the different settlements. Accordingly, the foundation of another storehouse was laid, equal in dimensions and in a line with that already erected on the east side of the cove at Sydney.

On the 17th the Dutch snow, the "*Waaksamheyd*," anchored in the cove from Batavia, having left that place on the 20th of September, and met on her passage with contrary winds. She had been manned principally with Malays, sixteen of whom she buried during the passage.

The master produced a packet from the *Sabandhaar* (his owner) at Batavia, inclosing two letters to the Governor; one was written in very good English, containing such particulars respecting the vessel as he judged it for his interest to communicate; the other, which was designed to convey such information as he possessed respecting European politics, being written in Dutch, unfortunately proved unintelligible;



and the Governor could only gather from the master (who spoke bad English), that a misunderstanding subsisted between Great Britain and Spain; but on what account could not be distinctly collected.

On the first working day after her arrival, the people were employed in delivering the cargo from the snow. The quantity of rice brought in her was found to be short of that purchased and paid for by Lieutenant Ball, by forty-two thousand nine hundred weight; and the Governor consented to receive in lieu one pound of butter (the master having a quantity of that article) for eighteen pounds of rice. This deficiency had been ascertained by weighing all the provisions that were landed; a procedure in which the master acquiesced with much reluctance and some impertinence.

The numbers who died by sickness in the year 1790 were, two seamen, one soldier, one hundred and twenty-three male convicts, seven females, and ten children.

In the above time, four male convicts were executed; one midshipman, two soldiers, and six male convicts, were drowned; one convict perished in the woods, and two absconded; making a total decrease of one hundred and fifty-nine persons.

January, 1791.—The Indian corn beginning to ripen at Rose Hill, the convicts commenced their depredations, for which several were punished; but nothing seemed to deter them, and they now committed thefts as if they stole from principle; for at this time they received the full ration, in which no difference was made between them and the Governor, or any other free person in the colony. On the arrival of the Dutch provisions, the Governor had altered the ration, and caused five pounds of rice to be issued in lieu of four pounds of flour.

Information having been received, that some natives had thrown a spear or fiz-gig at a convict in a garden on the west side, where they had met together to steal potatoes, an armed party was sent to disperse them; when a club being thrown by one of the natives of the party, the latter fired, and one man was wounded. This circumstance was at first only surmised, on tracing a quantity of blood from the spot to the water; but in a few days afterwards the natives in the town told the name of the wounded man, and added, that he was then dead, and to be found in a cove which they mentioned. On going to the place, a savage, well known in the



town since the intercourse between them and the inhabitants had been opened, was found dead, and disposed of for burning. He had been shot under the arm, and the surgeon was of opinion that he had bled to death.

It was much to be regretted, that any necessity existed for adopting these sanguinary punishments; and that they had not been yet able to reconcile these people to the deprivation of those parts of this harbour occupied by the English; but while they entertained the idea of the English having dispossessed them of their residences, they must always consider them as enemies; and upon this principle would make a point of attacking them whenever opportunity and safety concurred. It was also unfortunately found, that the knowledge yet obtained by our people of the language of the country was not sufficient to convey an idea in connected terms. It was likewise believed by some of the inhabitants of Port Jackson, that those natives who came occasionally into the town, did not desire that any of the other tribes should participate in the enjoyment of the few trifles which they procured. If this were true, it would for a long time retard the general understanding of the friendly intentions toward them; and it was not improbable, that they might for the same reason represent the white people in a very unfavourable light.

It had been the custom to leave the signal colours during the day at the flag-staff on the South Head; at which place they were seen by some of the natives, who, watching their opportunity, ran away with them, and they were afterwards seen divided among them in their canoes, and used as coverings.

On the 22nd, the "Supply" sailed for Norfolk Island, with some provisions for that settlement. Lieutenant Ball labouring under a severe illness, the master was directed by the Governor to take charge of the vessel until Mr. Ball should be able to resume the command.

On the 22nd, the man employed to shoot for the Governor expired of the wound that he had received from the native. On opening the body, the spear appeared to have wounded the left lobe of the lungs, which was found adhering to the side. In the cavity were discovered some of the pieces of stone and shells with which the weapon had been armed. This man had been suspected of having wantonly killed or wounded several of the natives in the course of his excursions after



game; but he steadily denied, from the time when he was brought in, to his last moment of life, having ever fired at them but once, and then merely in defence of his own life.

At Rose Hill, great progress was made in the building of the new barracks.

At Sydney, the public works in hand were, building the new storehouse, and two brick houses, one for the clergyman, and the other for the surveyor-general.

The master of the Dutch snow having received instructions from his owner, the Sabandhaar at Batavia, to offer the vessel to the Governor, either for sale or for hire, after she should be cleared of her cargo, mentioned the circumstance to His Excellency, and proposed to him to sell the vessel, with all her furniture and provisions, for the sum of thirty-three thousand rix-dollars, or to let her on hire at fifteen rix-dollars per ton per month; in either of which cases a passage was to be provided for his people to the Cape of Good Hope. The Governor was desirous of sending this vessel to England with the officers and people of the "Sirius"; but it was impossible to close with either of these offers, and he rejected them. Her master therefore dropped the vessel down to the lower part of the harbour, saying that he should sail immediately; however, to try the success of other proposals, he wrote to the Governor's secretary, offering to let the vessel for the voyage to England for twenty thousand rix-dollars; stipulating, that thirty thousand rix-dollars should be paid for her in the event of her being lost; the crew to be landed at the Cape, and himself to be furnished with a passage to England. On receiving this second offer, His Excellency informed him, that, instead of his proposal, one pound sterling per ton per month should be given for the hire of the snow, to be paid when the voyage should be completed. With this offer, the master, notwithstanding his having quitted the cove on his first terms being rejected, declared himself satisfied, and directly returned to the cove, saluting with five guns on his coming to an anchor.

After some delay, occasioned by the perverseness and ignorance of this man, the charter-party was finally settled; he consenting to be paid for only three hundred tons, instead of three hundred and fifty, for which she had been imposed upon Lieutenant Ball at Batavia.

The "Supply," after an absence of five weeks, returned from Norfolk Island, having on board Captain Hunter, with



the officers and people of the "Sirius." They brought a confirmation that the fears which had been entertained of the distressed situation of that settlement had been too well founded. The supply of provisions which was dispatched in the "Justinian" and "Surprise" reached them at a critical point of time, there being in store on the 7th of August, when they appeared off the island, provisions but for a few days at the ration then issued, which was three pounds of flour and one pint of rice; or, in lieu of flour, three pounds of Indian meal or of wheat, ground, and not separated from the husks or the bran. Their salt provisions were so nearly expended, that while a bird or a fish could be procured no salt meat was issued. The weekly ration of this article was only one pound and a half of beef, or seventeen ounces of pork. What their situation might have been but for the providential supply of birds that they met with, it is impossible to say; to themselves it had appeared too big with calamity to be contemplated without terror. On Mount Pitt they were fortunate enough to obtain, in an abundance almost incredible, a species of aquatic birds, answering the description of that known by the name of the Puffin. These birds came in from the sea every evening, in clouds literally darkening the air, and, descending on Mount Pitt, deposited their eggs in deep holes made by themselves in the ground, generally quitting them in the morning, and returning to seek their subsistence in the sea. From two to three thousand of these birds were often taken in a night. Their seeking their food in the ocean left no doubt of their own flesh partaking of the quality of that upon which they fed; but to people circumstanced as were the inhabitants on Norfolk Island, this lessened not their importance; and while any Mount Pitt birds were to be had, they were eagerly sought. The knots of the pine tree, split and made into small bundles, afforded the miserable occupiers of a small speck in the ocean sufficient light to guide them through the woods, in search of what was to serve them for their next day's meal. They were also fortunate enough to have lost but a few casks of the provisions which had been brought to the island in the "Sirius," by far the greater part being got safely on shore; but so hazardous was at all times the landing in Sydney Bay, that, in discharging the two ships, the large cutter belonging to the "Sirius" was lost upon the reef, as she was coming in with a load of casks, and some women; by which accident,



two seamen of the "Sirius," three women, one child (an infant at the breast, whose mother got safe on shore), and one male convict who swam off to their assistance, were unfortunately drowned. The weather, notwithstanding this accident, was so favourable at other times, that in one day two hundred and ninety casks were landed from the ships.

The experience of three years had now shown, that the summer was the only proper season for sending stores and provisions to Norfolk Island, as during that period the passage through the reef had been found as good, and the landing as practicable, as in any cove in Port Jackson. But this was by no means certain or constant; for the surf had been observed to rise when the sea beyond it was perfectly calm, and without the smallest indication of any change in the weather. A gale of wind at a distance from the island would suddenly occasion such a swell, that landing would be either dangerous or impracticable.

The people of the "Sirius" had, during their stay at Norfolk Island, under the direction of Captain Hunter, been most usefully and successfully employed in removing several rocks which obstructed the passage through the reef; and a correct survey of the island had been made by Lieutenant Bradley, by which many dangers had been discovered, that until then had been unknown.

One hundred and fourteen acres of land had been cleared since the arrival of the Lieutenant-governor; but the crops of maize and wheat, which had worn a very promising appearance, were not only retarded by too dry a season, but infested by myriads of grubs and caterpillars, which destroyed everything they touched.

Two pieces of very coarse canvas, manufactured at Norfolk Island, were sent to Governor Phillip; but unless better could be produced from the looms than these specimens, little expectation was to be formed of this article ever answering even the common culinary purposes to which canvas can be applied.

Those officers who had passed some time in both settlements remarked, that the air of Norfolk Island was somewhat cooler than that of Sydney; every breeze that blew being, from its insular situation, felt there.

Martial law continued in force until the supplies arrived; and of the general demeanour of the convicts during that time report spoke favourably.



The "Lady Juliana," passing the island in her way to China, was the first ship that was seen; but, to the inexpressible disappointment and distress of those who saw her, as well as to the surprise of all who heard the circumstance, the master did not send a boat on shore. Nor were they relieved from their anxiety until two days had passed, when the other ship arrived.

This was the substance of the information received from Norfolk Island. From an exact survey which had been made, it was computed, that not more than between three and four hundred families could be maintained from the produce of the island; and that even from that number in the course of twenty years many would be obliged to emigrate.

In addition to the other works in hand during the month of February, the surveyor was employed in clearing and deepening the run of water which supplied the settlement at Sydney, and which, through the long drought, was at this time very low, although still sufficient for the consumption of the place. Fresh water was indeed everywhere very scarce, most of the streams or runs about the cove being dried up.

At Rose Hill, the heat on the tenth and eleventh of the month, on which days at Sydney the thermometer stood in the shade  $105^{\circ}$ , was so excessive (being much increased by the fire in the adjoining woods), that immense numbers of the large fox bat were seen hanging at the boughs of the trees, and dropping into the water, which, by their stench, was rendered unwholesome. They had been observed for some days before regularly taking their flight in the morning from the northward to the southward, and returning in the evening. During the excessive heat many dropped dead while on the wing; and it was remarkable, that those which were picked up were chiefly males. In several parts of the harbour the ground was covered with different sorts of small birds, some dead, and others gasping for water.

The relief of the detachment at Rose Hill took place on one of those sultry days; and the officer, having occasion to land in search of water, was compelled to walk several miles before any could be found, the runs which were known being all dry: in his way to and from the boat, he found a number of birds dropping dead at his feet. The wind was about north-west, and did much injury to the gardens burning up everything before it. Those persons whose business compelled them to



go into the heated air declared, that it was impossible to turn the face for five minutes to the quarter from whence the wind blew.

The greatest height of the thermometer during this month was—

	8 a.m.	2 p.m.	10 p.m.
	90	105	84
The least of ditto	62	64	61

Towards the latter end of March the officers and seamen of the "Sirius" were embarked on board the snow, to return to England. Of these, ten seamen and two marines chose rather to settle in that country than return to their own. The majority of them had formed connections with women for whose sake they consented to embrace a mode of life for which the natural restlessness of a sailor's disposition was but ill calculated. This motive, it is true, they disavowed; but one of the stipulations which they were desirous of making for themselves, being the indulgence of having the women who had before lived with them permitted still to do so, and it appearing not the least important article in their consideration, seemed a strong presumption that it was the companion, not the country, which had influenced their decision. Allotments of sixty acres each were marked out for them as settlers at Sydney or Norfolk Island, according as they made their choice.

The "Supply" was now ready to sail for Norfolk Island; and on the 21st of March, one captain, two subalterns, one sergeant, one corporal, one drummer, and eighteen privates of the New South Wales corps, embarked on board her, to relieve a part of the marine detachment doing duty there. On the following morning she sailed, carrying an instrument under the hand and seal of the Governor, restoring to the rights and privileges of a free man John Ascott, a convict at Norfolk Island, who had rendered himself very conspicuous by his exertions in preventing the "Sirius" from being burnt soon after she was wrecked.

On the 28th the "Waaksamheyd" transport sailed for England, having on board Captain Hunter, with the officers and crew of His Majesty's late ship "Sirius."

In the course of the night of the 28th, a convict of the name of Bryant, whose term of transportation, according to his own account, had recently expired, eluded the watch that was kept upon him, and made his escape, together with his wife



and two children (one an infant at the breast), and seven other convicts, in a fishing-boat. Their flight was not discovered until they had been several hours without the heads.

They were traced from Bryant's hut to the Point; and in the path were found a hand-saw, a scale, and four or five pounds of rice, scattered about in different places, which it was evident they had dropped in their haste. A seine belonging to government was likewise found, which, being too large for Bryant's purpose, he had exchanged for a smaller that he had made for an officer.

As soon as it was known in the settlement that Bryant had got out of reach, information was given that Detmer Smith, the master of the snow from Batavia, had sold him a compass and a quadrant, and had furnished him with a chart, together with such information as would assist him in his passage to the northward. Though Bryant had for some time been suspected of intending to escape when opportunity offered, yet such had been the address with which he had conducted himself, that at this period his motions had been less attended to than usual. Most of his companions were connected with female convicts; but if they knew of their intention they were too faithful to those whom they lived with to reveal it. Yet, had these women been bound to them by any ties of affection, fear for their safety, or the dislike to part, would surely have induced some of them to defeat an enterprise so hazardous, and to a thinking mind so hopeless; we must therefore conclude, that either these women were ignorant of the plan, or that, not having any interest either in their flight or in their remaining, they were silent on the subject. For one young woman a letter was found from one of the adventurers, conjuring her to relinquish the pursuit of those vices which, he told her, prevailed in the settlement, leaving her what little property he did not take with him, and assigning as a reason for his flight the severity of his situation, being transported for life, without the prospect of any mitigation, or hope of ever quitting the country, but by the means that he was about to adopt. It was conjectured that they would steer for Timor, or Batavia, as their assistance and information were derived from the Dutch snow.

The depredations at Rose Hill were now so frequent and extensive, that it became absolutely necessary to punish such offenders as were detected with a severity that might deter



others: to this end, iron collars of seven pounds weight were ordered as a punishment for flagrant offenders, who were also linked together by a chain, without which precaution they would still have continued to plunder the public grounds. The baker at the settlement absconded with a quantity of flour with which he had been intrusted, belonging to the military on duty there, and other persons. It must be remarked, however, that all these thefts were for procuring provisions, and that offences of any other tendency were very seldom heard of.

Some time in March James Ruse, the first settler in this country, who had been upon his ground about fifteen months, declared himself desirous of relinquishing his claim to any further provisions from the store, saying that he was able to support himself by the produce of his farm.

The supplies of provisions which had been received in the last year not warranting the continuing any longer at the ration now issued, the Governor thought it expedient to make a reduction of flour, rice, and salt provisions: accordingly, early in April each man, woman, and child above ten years of age, was to receive—

Three pounds of flour, 1 pound taken off; 3 pounds of rice, 1 pound taken off; 3 pounds of pork, 1 pound taken off; or when beef was served 4 pounds, 2 pounds taken off.

A small proportion was to be given to children under ten years of age. Of this allowance, the flour was the best article; the rice was found to be full of weevils; the pork ill-flavoured, rusty, and smoked; and the beef was lean, and (being cured with spices) truly unpalatable. Much of both these articles, when they came to be dressed, could not be used; and, being the best that could be procured at Batavia, no inclination was excited by these specimens to try that market again.

It having been reported to the Governor, that Bryant had been heard frequently to express, what was indeed the general sentiment on the subject among the convicts, that he did not consider a marriage contracted in that country as binding; His Excellency caused these people to be informed, that none would be permitted to quit the colony who had wives or children incapable of maintaining themselves and likely to become burdensome to the settlement, until they had found sufficient security for the maintenance of such wives and



children. This order was designed as a check upon the erroneous opinion which was formed of the efficacy of Mr. Johnson's (the clergyman) nuptial benediction; and if Bryant had thought as little of it as he was reported to do, his taking his wife with him could only be accounted for by the dread of her defeating his plan by discovery if she was not made personally interested in his escape.

Orders were given for limiting the length of such boats as should be built by individuals to such size as might deter the convicts from attempts to take them off. Also regulations as to the people employed in boats after sunset, whose names were to be given in writing to the officer on guard, to prevent any convict taking them from the wharves under pretence of fishing or other services.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

Much anxiety was excited in the colony on account of the long and unusual absence of the "Supply," which sailed for Norfolk Island on the 22nd day of March, and did not return till the 30th of April. Contrary winds and heavy gales had prevented her arrival at the time when she might have been reasonably expected; she was three weeks on her passage back, and was blown off the island for eleven days.

Three officers, two non-commissioned officers, one drummer, and twenty privates of the marine detachment, arrived in the "Supply." The weather had been as dry at Norfolk Island as it had been at Port Jackson; which, with the blighting winds, had considerably injured all the gardens, and particularly some crops of potatoes. Of the great fertility of the soil every account brought the strongest confirmation; and by attending to the proper season for sowing, it was the general opinion that two crops of corn might be got off in one year.

Their provisions, like those at Sydney, were at so low an ebb, that the Lieutenant-governor had reduced the ration. The whole number victualled, when the "Supply" sailed, amounted to six hundred and twenty-nine persons; and for that number there were in store, at the full ration, pork for twenty-nine weeks; flour and Indian corn for twenty weeks, beef for eighteen weeks; and these, at the ration then issued, would be prolonged, the grain to twenty-seven, the beef to forty-two, and the pork to twenty-nine weeks.

It must be remarked, however, that the ration at Norfolk Island was often uncertain, being regulated by the plenty or scarcity of the Mount Pitt birds. Great numbers of these birds had been killed for some time before the "Supply" sailed thence; but they were observed about that time to be quitting the island.

At Sydney, by an account taken at the latter end of May of the provisions then remaining in store, there appeared to be at the ration then issued, of—

Flour and rice, 40 weeks; beef, 12 weeks; pork, 27 weeks.



In this account the rice and flour were taken together as one article, but the rice bore by far the greatest proportion.

It was remarked by many in the settlement, that both at Sydney and at Rose Hill the countenances of the labouring convicts indicated the shortness of the ration that they received; this might be occasioned by their having suffered so much before from the same cause; from the effects of which they had scarcely been restored when they were again called upon to experience the hardship of a reduced ration of provisions. The convicts which arrived in June had not yet recovered from the severity of their sufferings on the passage.

It having been reported, that James Ruse, who in March had declared his ability to support himself independent of the store, was starving, the Governor told him, that in consideration of his having been upon a short allowance of provisions during nearly the whole of the time that he had been cultivating ground upon his own account, the storekeeper should be directed to supply him with twenty pounds of salt provisions. The man assured His Excellency that he did not stand in need of his bounty, having by him at the time a small stock of provisions, a quantity of Indian corn (which he found no difficulty in exchanging for salt meat), and a bag of flour; all of which enabled him to do so well, that he absolutely begged permission to decline the offer; so very contradictory was his own account of his situation to that which had been asserted by others!

The barracks of Rose Hill being sufficiently completed, they were taken possession of at the latter end of May by the New South Wales corps.

Thefts innumerable were still committed; and though severe punishment was certain to follow detection, it either had lost its terrors, or the habits of depravity were become so much a part of their nature as to subdue every other sensation.

Finishing the clergyman's and surveyor's houses, bringing in bricks for other buildings, posts and paling for a fence round the run of water, and making clothing for the people, occupied the convicts at Sydney.

The bad weather met with by the "Supply;" during her late voyage to Norfolk Island, had done her so much injury, that she could not be got ready for sea in less than three months, the carpenter declaring her main-mast to be unfit for service. This, when the difficulty of finding timber fit for the



purpose was recollected, was a most unlucky and ill-timed want; for, should it happen that supplies were not received from England by the middle or end of the month of July, the services of this vessel would be again required; and, to save the colony, she must at that time have been dispatched to some settlement in India for provisions. She was therefore immediately hauled alongside the rocks, and people employed to look for sound timber fit for a mast.

In honour of His Majesty's birthday, an extra allowance of one pound of salt meat, and the like quantity of rice, was issued to the garrison and settlement on the fourth of June; and to the women and children in proportion.

The town which had been marked out at Rose Hill, and which now wore something of a regular appearance, on this occasion received its name. The Governor calling it Par-ramat-ta, being the name by which the natives distinguished that part of the country on which the town stood.

Since the establishment of that familiar intercourse which now subsisted between the settlers and the natives, several of them had found it their interest to sell or exchange fish among the people of Parramatta; they being contented to receive a small quantity of either bread or salt meat in barter for mullet, bream, and other fish. To the officers who resided there this proved a great convenience, and they encouraged the natives to visit them as often as they would bring them fish. There were, however, among the convicts some who were so unthinking or so depraved, as wantonly to destroy a canoe belonging to a fine young man, a native, who had left it at a little distance from the settlement, and as he hoped out of the way of observation, while he went with some fish to the huts. His rage at finding his canoe destroyed was inconceivable: he threatened to take his revenge, and in his own way, upon all white people. Three of the six people who had done him the injury, however, were so well described by some one who had seen them, that, being closely pursued, they were taken and punished, as were the remainder a few days after.

The instant effect of this was, that the natives discontinued the bringing up of fish; and Bal-loo-der-ry, whose canoe had been destroyed, although he had been taught to believe that one of the six convicts had been hanged for the offence, meeting a few days afterwards with a poor wretch who had strayed from Parramatta as far as the Flats, he wounded him in two



places with a spear. This act of Bal-loo-der-ry's was followed by the Governor's strictly forbidding him to appear again at any of the settlements; the other natives, his friends, being alarmed, Parramatta was seldom visited by any of them, and all commerce with them was at an end. How much greater claim to the appellation of savages had the wretches who were the cause of this, than the natives who were termed so!

During the month of June some rain had fallen, which had encouraged the culture of public grounds, and one hundred and sixteen bushels of wheat were sown at Parramatta. Until these rains fell, the ground was so dry, hard, and literally burnt up, that it was almost impossible to break it with a hoe; and until this time there had been no hope or probability of the grain vegetating.

In the course of this month the stonemason, with the people under his direction, had begun their operations at the west point of the Cove, where the Governor purposed constructing, out of the rock, a spot whereon to place the guns belonging to the settlement, which was to wear the appearance of a work. The flag-staff was to be placed in the same situation. The house for the principal surgeon was got up and covered.

To guard against the recurrence of the accident which happened to the cattle soon after they had arrived, the Governor had for some time employed a certain number of convicts at Parramatta in forming inclosures; and at the commencement of July not less than one hundred and forty acres were thinned of the timber, surrounded by a ditch, and guarded by a proper fence.

In addition to the quantity of ground sown with wheat, a large proportion was cleared to be sown with Indian corn; and the country about Parramatta, as well as the town itself, where eight huts were now built, wore a very promising appearance. At Sydney, the little ground that was in cultivation belonged to individuals; the whole labour of the convicts employed in clearing the ground having been exerted at Parramatta, where the soil, though not the best for the purposes of agriculture (according to the opinion of every man who professed any knowledge of farming), was still better than the land about Sydney, where, to raise even a cabbage after the first crop, manure was absolutely requisite.

On the morning of the 9th, the signal for a sail was made at the South Head; and before night it was made known that



the "Mary Ann" transport was arrived from England, with one hundred and forty-one female convicts on board, six children, and one free woman, some clothing, and the following small quantity of provisions; one hundred and thirty-two barrels of flour; sixty-one tierces of pork; and thirty-two tierces of beef.

This ship sailed alone; but gave information that she was to be followed by nine sail of transports, on board of which were to be embarked (including one hundred and fifty women, the number put into the "Mary") two thousand and fifty male and female convicts; the whole of which were to be expected in the course of six weeks or two months, together with His Majesty's ship "Gorgon."

They also learned, that Lieutenant King, who sailed from Port Jackson on the 17th of April, 1790, arrived in London on the 20th day of December following. He had suffered much distress after leaving Batavia, whence he was obliged to go to the Mauritius, having lost, by sickness, nearly all the crew of the packet that he was in. Mr. Millar, the late commissary, had died upon the passage.

They heard with great satisfaction of the government in England having adopted a system of sending out convicts at two embarkations in every year, at which time provisions were also to be sent. It was not probable that they would again experience the misery and want with which they had already been but too well acquainted, from not having had any regular mode of supply. Intimation was likewise given, that a cargo of grain might be expected to arrive from Bengal; some merchants at that settlement having proposed to Lord Cornwallis, on hearing of the loss of the "Guardian," to freight a ship with such a cargo as would be adapted to the wants of the colony, and to supply the different articles at a cheaper rate than they could be sent from England. They were also to expect a transport with live stock from the north-west coast of America.

The master, Mark Monroe, had not any private letters on board; but (what added to the disappointment that every one experienced) this man had not brought a single newspaper; and having been but a few weeks from Greenland before he had sailed for New South Wales, he was nearly as destitute of any kind of information as the ship that he commanded; they were therefore compelled to suspend their ardent



curiosity, and to hope for the speedy arrival of a more intelligent person.

The "Mary Ann" had been only four months and sixteen days from England; and had touched nowhere, except at the island of St. Jago, where she remained ten days. The master landed a boat in a bay about fifteen miles to the southward of Botany Bay; but made no other observation, than that there was a bay in which a boat might land.

The females who came in this gentleman's ship were all very healthy, and spoke highly of the treatment which they had met with from him. These women were on their landing distributed among the huts at Sydney; and the Governor went to Parramatta to make such preparations as the time would admit for the numbers that he expected to receive.

The convicts whose terms of transportation had expired, were now collected, and, by the authority of the Governor, informed, that such of them as wished to become settlers in that country should receive every encouragement; that those who did not, were to labour for their provisions, stipulating to work for twelve or eighteen months certain; and that in the way of such as preferred returning to England no obstacles would be thrown, provided they could procure passages from the masters of such ships as might arrive; but that they were not to expect any assistance on the part of Government to that end. The wish to return to their friends appeared to be the prevailing idea, a few only giving in their names as settlers, and none engaging to work for a certain time.

It being always desirable to go as near the established ration as the state of the stores would allow, the Governor directed two pounds of rice to be added to the weekly proportion of that article; but though by this addition eight pounds of grain were issued (viz., three pounds of flour and five of rice), the ration was far from being brought up to the standard established by the Treasury for the colony; five pounds of bad worm-eaten rice making a most inadequate substitute for the same quantity of good flour. In the article of meat the labouring man suffered still more; for in a given quantity of sixty pounds, which were issued on one serving-day to two messes, there were no less than forty pounds of bone, and the remainder, which was intended to be eaten, was almost too far advanced in putrefaction for even hunger to get it down. It must be observed, that it came in the snow from Batavia.



On Monday, the 1st of August, the "Matilda," the first of the expected fleet of transports, arrived, after an extraordinary passage of four months and five days from Portsmouth; having sailed from thence on the 27th of March, with four sail of transports, with whom she parted company that night off Dunnoze. Another division of the transports had sailed a week before from Plymouth Sound. On board the "Matilda" were two hundred and five male convicts; one ensign, one sergeant, one corporal, one drummer, and nineteen privates, of the New South Wales corps; and some stores and provisions calculated as a supply for the above number for nine months after their arrival.

The master of this ship anchored for two days in a bay of one of Schoeten's Islands, distant from the main land about twelve miles, in the latitude of  $42^{\circ} 15' S.$ ; where, according to his report, five or six ships might find shelter. Those who were on shore saw the footsteps of different kinds of animals and traces of natives, such as huts, fires, broken spears, and the instrument which they used for throwing the spear. They spoke of the soil as sandy, and observed that the ground was covered with shrubs resembling those found at Sydney.

The convicts in this ship, on their landing, appeared to be aged and infirm, the state in which they were said to have been embarked. It was not therefore to be wondered at, that they had buried twenty-five on their passage. Twenty were sick, and were immediately landed at the hospital.

Fifty-five of the convicts brought in this ship, selected from the others as farmers and artificers, were sent up to Parramatta; of the remainder, those whose health would permit them to go were put on board the "Mary Ann," together with thirty-two convicts of bad character from among those who came out in the preceding year, and eleven privates of the New South Wales corps. On the 8th, the "Mary Ann" sailed for Norfolk Island.

At Parramatta, the only accommodation which the shortness of the notice admitted of being provided for the people who were on their passage was got up; two tent huts, one hundred feet long, thatched with grass, were erected; and, independent of the risk which the occupiers might run from fire, they would afford good and comfortable shelter from the weather.

The Governor had now chosen situations for his settlers, and fixed them on their different allotments. Twelve convicts,



whose terms of transportation had expired, he placed in a range of farms at the foot of a hill, named Prospect Hill, about four miles west from Parramatta; fifteen others were placed on allotments in a district, named the Ponds, from a range of fresh-water ponds being in their vicinity; these were situated two miles in a direction north-east of Parramatta. Between every allotment, a space had been reserved equal to the largest grant on either side, pursuant to the instructions which the Governor had received; but it was soon found that this distribution might be attended with much disadvantage to the settler; a thick wood of at least thirty acres must lie between every allotment; and a circumstance soon happened which showed the inconvenience consequent thereon, and determined the Governor to deviate from the instructions, whenever, by adhering to them, the settlers were likely to be material sufferers.

In the beginning of August information was received, that a much larger party of the natives than had yet been seen assembled at any time, had destroyed a hut belonging to a settler at Prospect Hill, who would have been murdered by them, but for the timely and accidental appearance of another settler with a musket. There was no doubt of the hut having been destroyed, and by natives, though perhaps their numbers were much exaggerated; the Governor, therefore, determined to place other settlers upon allotments which had been reserved for the Crown; by which means assistance in similar or other accidents would be more ready.

On the arrival of the "Matilda," orders were given that the weekly allowance of flour should be increased to five pounds for each man, and three pounds and a half for each woman.

The platform which had been some time constructing on the west point being ready for the reception of the cannon, they were moved thither.

On the 20th, the "Atlantic" transport anchored in the cove from Plymouth, whence she sailed with two other transports; from whom she had parted five weeks since in bad weather between Rio de Janeiro and Port Jackson, the passage from which had not been more than ten weeks. She had on board a sergeant's party of the new corps as a guard to two hundred and twenty male convicts, eighteen of whom had died on the passage: except nine who were sick, the remainder were very healthy. The evening before her arrival she stood into a



capacious bay, situated between Long Nose and Cape St. George, where they found good anchorage and deep water. The naval agent on board, who landed, described the soil to be sandy, and the country thickly covered with timber. He did not see any natives, but found a canoe upon the beach, whose owners perhaps were not far off. The canoe, by this gentleman's account, appeared to be on a somewhat stronger construction than the canoes of Port Jackson.

The next day the "*Salamander*," another transport, arrived, bringing a sergeant's party, and one hundred and sixty male convicts, one hundred and fifty-five of whom arrived in very good health. The party, however, had lost their sergeant, he having shown his preference to remaining in England, by deserting when the ship was on the point of sailing.

The Governor now directed the issuing of the full ration; the reduced had continued for twenty-one weeks.

A party of one hundred convicts were sent to Parramatta; the "*Salamander*" was ordered to proceed to Norfolk Island with the people and cargo, and the remaining convicts from the other ship were disposed of at Sydney.

There were at this time not less than seventy persons from the "*Matilda*" and "*Atlantic*" under medical treatment, being weak, emaciated, and unfit for any kind of labour; and the list was daily increasing. It might have been supposed, that on changing from the unwholesome air of a ship's between-decks to the purer air of the country, the weak would have gathered strength; but it had been observed, that in general, soon after landing, the convicts were affected with dysenteric complaints, perhaps caused by the change of water, many dying, and others who had strength to overcome the disease recovering from it but slowly. On the 28th the "*William and Ann*" transport arrived, having on board one sergeant and twelve privates, one hundred and eighty-one male convicts, with her proportion of stores and provisions. She had lost seven convicts on the passage; the remainder were very healthy, five only being so ill as to require removal.

The town beginning to fill with strangers (officers and seamen from the transports), and spirituous liquors finding their way among the convicts, it was ordered that none should be landed until a permit had been granted by the Judge-advocate.

Bal-loo-der-ry, the proscribed native, having ventured into the town with some of his friends, one or two armed parties



were sent to seize him; and a spear having been thrown (it was said by him) two muskets were fired, by which one of his companions was wounded in the leg; but Bal-loo-der-ry was not taken. On the following day it was given out in orders, that he was to be taken whenever an opportunity offered; and that any native attempting to throw a spear in his defence (as it was well known among them why vengeance was denounced against him) was, if possible, to be prevented from escaping with impunity.

Those who knew this savage regretted that it had been necessary to treat him with this harshness, as among his countrymen they had nowhere seen a finer young man. The person who had been wounded by him in June was not yet recovered.

Discharging the transports formed the principal labour during August. The shingles on the old hospital being much decayed, they were removed, and the building covered with tiles.

The convicts at Parramatta were employed in opening some ground; and it was expected, from the exertions they were making, that between forty and fifty acres would be soon ready for sowing with Indian corn for that season.

It became necessary to land the cargo brought out in the "Salamander," for the purpose of re-stowing it in a manner convenient for getting it out at Norfolk Island while the ship was under sail. The great inconvenience attending landing of cargo in such a situation had been pointed out in letters which could not yet have been attended to. It was at the same time suggested, that ships should be freighted purposely for Norfolk Island, with casks and bales adapted to the size of the island boats, which would in a great measure lessen the inconvenience above-mentioned.

On the 3rd of September, near two hundred male convicts, with a sergeant's party of the New South Wales corps, some stores and provisions, having been put on board the "Salamander," she sailed for Norfolk Island; and the "Mary Ann" returned from the settlement on the 8th, having been absent only four weeks and two days. The convicts, stores, and provisions were all safely landed; but an unexpected surf rising at the back of the reef, filled the only boat (a Greenland whale boat) which the master took with him, and she was dashed upon the reef, and stove: the people fortunately saved themselves by swimming.



From Norfolk Island they learned, that the crops of wheat then in the ground promised well, having been sown a month earlier than those of the last season. Of the public ground ninety acres were in wheat, and one hundred in Indian corn: of the ground cleared by the convicts, and cultivated by themselves for their own maintenance, there were not less at the departure of the transport, than two hundred and fifty acres. Some prisoners having been sent from Norfolk Island, the criminal court was assembled on the 15th for the trial of one of them for a capital offence committed there; but for want of sufficient evidence he was acquitted. Great inconvenience was experienced from having to send prisoners from that island with all the necessary witnesses. In the case just mentioned, the prosecutor was a settler, who, being obliged to leave his farm for a time, the business of which was necessarily suspended until his return, was ruined; and one of the witnesses was in nearly the same situation. But as the courts in New South Wales would always be the superior courts, it was not easy to devise a remedy for these inconveniences.

On the 21st, His Majesty's ship "*Gorgon*," of forty-four guns, commanded by Captain John Parker, anchored within the heads. She had sailed from England on the 15th of March last, touching at the islands of Teneriffe and St. Jago, and at the Cape of Good Hope, where she remained six weeks, taking in three bulls, twenty-three cows, sixty-eight sheep, eleven hogs, two hundred fruit trees, a quantity of garden-seed, and other articles for the colony. Unfortunately, the bulls and seven of the cows died; but a bull-calf, which had been produced on board, arrived in good condition.

Six months provisions for about nine hundred people, with stores for His Majesty's armed tender the "*Supply*," and for the marine detachment, were sent out in the "*Gorgon*"; wherein also was embarked Mr. King, the late commandant of Norfolk Island, now appointed by His Majesty Lieutenant-Governor of that settlement, and a commander in the navy; together with a deputy surveyor-general to be employed at Norfolk Island; the chaplain and quarter-master of the New South Wales corps, and a superintendent of convicts.

By this ship also came a public seal, to be affixed to all instruments drawn in His Majesty's name; and a commission under the great seal, empowering the Governor for the time being to remit, either absolutely or conditionally, the whole or any part of the term for which felons, or other offenders,



should have been or might hereafter be transported to that country. Duplicates of each pardon were to be sent to England, for the purpose of inserting the names of the persons so emancipated in the first general pardon which should afterwards issue under the great seal of the kingdom.

To deserving characters, of which description there were many convicts in the colony, a prospect of having the period of their banishment shortened, and of being restored to the privilege which by misconduct they had forfeited, had something in it very cheering, and was more likely to preserve well-intentioned men in honest and fair pursuits, than the fear of punishment, which would seldom operate with good effect on a mind that entertained no hope of reward for propriety of conduct. The people who had degraded themselves sufficiently to wear the stigma of "convict," could not be supposed in general actuated by that nice sense of feeling which draws its truest satisfaction from self-approbation; they looked for something more substantial, something more obvious to the external senses.

In determining the device for the seal of the colony, attention had been paid to its local and peculiar circumstances. On the obverse were, the King's arms, with the royal titles in the margin; on the reverse, a representation of convicts landing at Botany Bay, received by Industry, who, surrounded by her attributes, a bale of merchandize, a bee-hive, a pick-axe, and a shovel, is releasing them from their fetters, and pointing to oxen ploughing, and a town rising on the summit of a hill, with a fort for its protection. The masts of a ship are seen in the bay. In the margin are the words "Sigillum, Nov. Camb. Aust." and for a motto "Sic fortis Etruria crevit." The seal was of silver, and the devices were extremely well executed.

The cattle were immediately landed, and turned into the inclosures which had been prepared for them. One cow died in the boat going up.

The remaining transports of the fleet were now dropping in. On the 26th, the "Active" from England, and the "Queen" from Ireland, with convicts of that country, arrived. On board of the "Active," besides the sergeant's guard, were one hundred and fifty-four male convicts. An officer's party was on board the "Queen," with one hundred and twenty-six male and twenty-three female convicts, and three children. These ships had been unhealthy, and had buried several convicts



in their passage. The sick which they brought in were landed immediately; and many of those who remained, and were not so ill as to require medical assistance, were brought on shore in an emaciated and feeble condition, particularly the convicts from the "Active." They in general complained of not having received the allowance intended for them; but their emaciated appearance was to be ascribed as much to confinement as to any other cause. The convicts from the "Queen," however, accusing the master of having withheld their provisions, an inquiry took place before the magistrates; and it appeared beyond a doubt, that great abuses had been practised in the issuing of the provisions; but as to the quantity withheld, it was not possible to ascertain it so clearly, as to admit of directing the deficiency to be made good, or of punishing the parties with that retributive justice for which the heinousness of their offence so loudly called: the proceedings of the magistrates were therefore submitted to the Governor, who determined to transmit them to the Secretary of State.

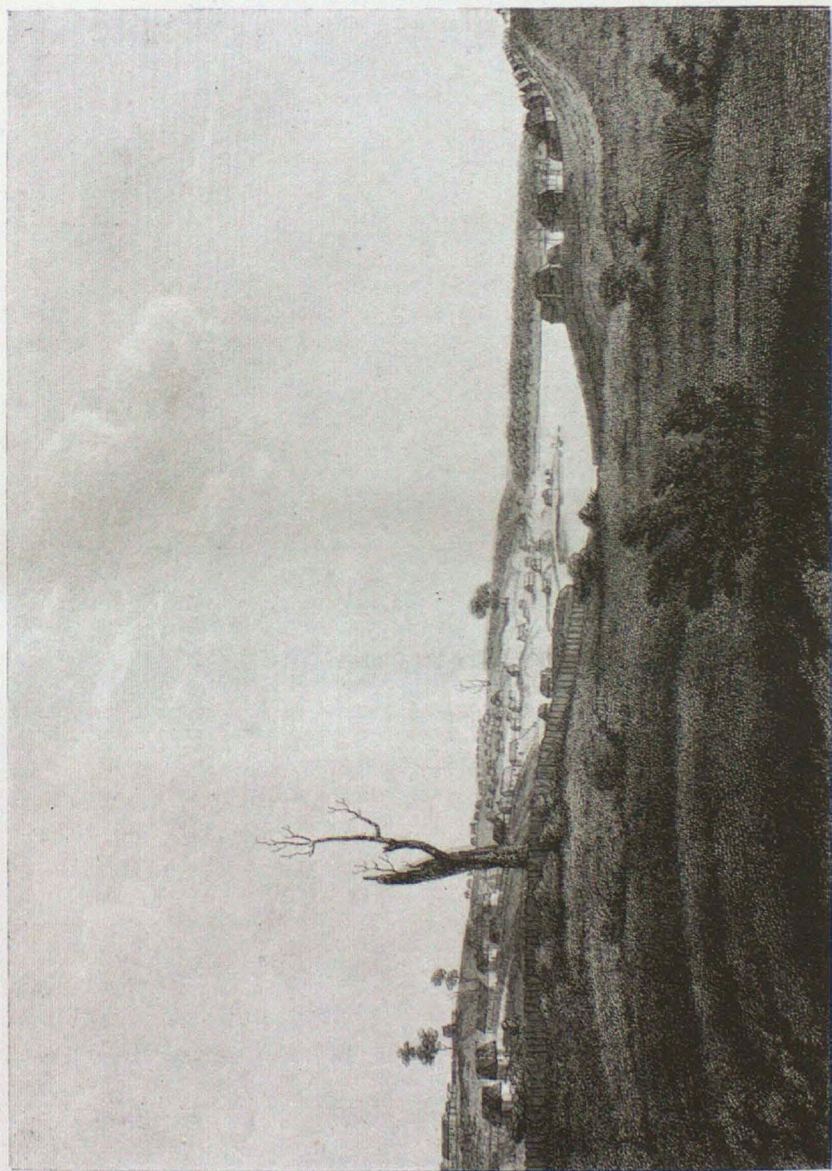
Nothing could have excited more general indignation than the treatment which these unfortunate people appeared to have met with; for, what crime could be more offensive to every sentiment of humanity, than the endeavour, by curtailing a ration certainly not too ample, to derive a temporary advantage from the misery of beings already the victims of calamity!

By the arrival of these ships several articles of comfort were introduced; there being scarcely a vessel that had not brought something for sale. It could not, however, be said that they were procurable on easier terms than what had been sold there last year. The Spanish dollar was the current coin of the colony, which some of the masters taking at five shillings, others at four shillings and sixpence, the Governor, in consideration of the officers having been obliged to receive it at five shillings sterling when given for bills drawn in the settlement, issued a proclamation, fixing the currency of the Spanish dollar at that sum.

The remainder of the transports expected did not arrive till the middle of October. The "Albemarle" was off the coast some days, and arrived on the 13th, with two hundred and fifty male and six female convicts, her proportion of stores and provisions, and a sergeant's party.

The convicts of this ship made an attempt, in conjunction with some of the seamen, to seize her on the 9th of April, soon





By water to Parramatta, with a distant view of the western mountains, taken from the Windmill-hill at Sydney.







after she left England; and they would in all probability have succeeded, but for the activity and resolution shown by the master, Mr. George Bowen, who, hearing the alarm, had just time to arm himself with a loaded blunderbuss, which he discharged at one of the mutineers, William Syney (then in the act of aiming a blow with a cutlass at the man at the wheel), and lodged its contents in his shoulder. His companions, seeing what had befallen him, instantly ran below; but the master, his officers, and some of the seamen of the ship, following them, soon secured the ring-leaders, Owen Lyons and William Syney. A consultation was held with the naval agent, the ship's company, and the military persons on board; the result of which was, the immediate execution of those two at the fore-yard-arm. They had at this time parted company with the other transports, and no other means seemed so likely to deter the convicts from any future attempt of the like nature. It afterwards appearing that two seamen had supplied them with instruments for sawing off their irons, these were left at the island of Madeira, to be sent prisoners to England.

On the following day the "Britannia" arrived, with one hundred and twenty-nine male convicts, stores, and provisions on board; and on the 16th the "Admiral Barrington," the last of the ten sail of transports, anchored in the cove, having on board a captain and a party of the New South Wales corps, with two hundred and sixty-four male convicts, four women, and one child. She too had been unhealthy, having lost thirty-six convicts in the passage, and brought in eighty-four persons sick. Her stores and proportion of provisions were the same as on board of the other ships.

The whole number of convicts now received into the colony, including thirty on board the "Gorgon," were, male convicts one thousand six hundred and ninety-five; females one hundred and sixty-eight; and children nine. There were also eight free women (wives of convicts), and one child; making a total number of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one persons, exclusive of the military. Upwards of two hundred convicts, male and female, had died on their passage.

Of the ten sail of transports, five, after delivering their cargoes, were to proceed on the Southern Whale Fishery; viz., the "Mary Ann," "Matilda," "William and Ann," "Salamander," and "Britannia." This last sailed on the 24th, a week after her arrival, as did those whalers which had arrived



before her. The other transports were to proceed to Bombay. The quantity of provisions received by these ships being calculated for the numbers on board of each for nine months only after their arrival; and as, so large a body of convicts having been sent out, it was not probable that they should soon have another supply, the Governor judged it expedient to send one of the transports to Bengal, to procure provision for the colony; for which purpose he hired the "Atlantic" at fifteen shillings and sixpence per ton per month.

On the anniversary of His Majesty's accession to the throne, a salute of one-and-twenty guns was fired by the "Gorgon"; and at the public dinner given on the occasion at Government-house, upwards of fifty officers were assembled; a greater number than had ever before met in that colony.

On the 26th the "Atlantic" sailed for Norfolk Island and Calcutta. For the first of these places, she had on board Lieutenant-Governor King and his family; a Captain of the New South Wales corps; an assistant-surgeon; the Rev. Mr. Johnson, who voluntarily visited Norfolk Island for the purpose of performing those duties of his office, which had hitherto been omitted through the want of a minister to perform them; twenty-nine settlers discharged from the marines; several male and female convicts, and some few settlers from that class of people.

The "Salamander" had returned from Norfolk Island, where every person and article that she had on board were safely landed. By letters received thence, they learned that it was supposed there had formerly been inhabitants upon the island, several stone hatchets, or rather stones resembling adzes, and others resembling chisels, having been found in turning up some ground in the interior parts. Lieutenant-Governor King had formerly entertained the same supposition from discovering the banana tree growing in regular rows.

The tranquillity of the little town of Sydney was much less disturbed than it was imagined would have been the case, from the great influx of disorderly seamen who were at times let loose from the transports; this, probably, was owing to the enforcing of the port-orders, from the first, with some degree of severity.

The foundation of a new storehouse was begun at Sydney: this, and clearing the transports, formed the principal labour there.



The month of October had produced a second instance of an unfortunate being, a convict, who had put an end to his existence to avoid that punishment which he wanted the resolution not to deserve.

From Parramatta two convicts were missing, supposed to have been killed by the natives.

On the first day of November, information was received from Parramatta, that a body of twenty male convicts and one female, of those lately arrived in the "Queen" transport from Ireland, each taking a week's provisions, and armed with tomahawks and knives, had absconded from that settlement, with the chimerical idea of walking to China, or of finding some country wherein they would be received and entertained without labour. It was generally supposed, however, that this improbable tale was only a cover to the real design, which might be to procure boats, and get on board the transports after they had left the cove. An officer from Parramatta with a party was immediately sent in pursuit of them, who traced them as far down the harbour as Lane Cove, whence he reached the settlement of Sydney, without obtaining any further intelligence of them. A few days afterwards, the people in a boat belonging to the "Albemarle" transport, which had been down the harbour to procure wood on the north shore, met with the wretched female who had accompanied the men. She had been separated from them for three days, and wandered by herself, entirely ignorant of her situation, until she came to the water-side, where, fortunately, she soon after met the boat. Boats were sent down the next day, and the woman's husband was found and taken back to the settlement. They both gave the same absurd account of their design as before related, and appeared to have suffered very considerably by fatigue, hunger, and heat. The man had lost his companions eight-and-forty hours before he was himself discovered; and no tidings of them were received for several days, although boats were constantly sent into the north-west arm, and the lower part of the harbour.

Three of these miserable people were some time after met by some officers who were on an excursion to the lagoon between the harbour and Broken Bay; but, notwithstanding their situation, they did not readily give themselves up; and when questioned, said that they wanted nothing more than to live free from labour. These people were sent up to Parramatta, whence, regardless of what they had experienced, and



might again suffer, they a second time absconded in a few days after they had returned. Parties were immediately dispatched, and thirteen of those who first absconded were brought in, in an state of deplorable wretchedness, naked, and nearly worn out with hunger. Some of them had subsisted chiefly by sucking the flowering shrubs and wild berries of the woods; and the whole exhibited a picture of misery that seemed sufficient to deter others from the like extravagant folly. The practice of flying from labour into the woods still prevailing, the Governor caused all the convicts who had arrived that year to be assembled; when he informed them of his determination to put a stop to their absconding by sending out parties with orders to fire upon them whenever they should be met with; and he declared, that if any were brought in alive, he would either land them on a part of the harbour where they could not depart, or chain them together with only bread and water for their subsistence, during the remainder of their terms of transportation. He likewise told them of information which he had received that they intended to arm themselves and seize upon the stores; but if they did make an attempt of that kind, every man who might be taken should be instantly put to death. Having thus endeavoured to impress them with ideas of certain punishment if they offended in future, he forgave some for small offences, exhorted them to go cheerfully to their labour, and changed their hours of work, agreeable to a request which they had made.

Four hundred and fifty of these miserable people had received medicines from the hospital in the morning of the day when the Governor had thus addressed them. The prevailing disease was a dysentery, which was accompanied by a general debility.

From her intended trial of the whale fishery on the coast the "*Britannia*" arrived on the 10th, and was followed on the next day by the "*Mary Ann*." The former, in company with the "*William and Ann*," the day she went out, killed seven spermaceti whales, two only of which they were able to secure, on account of the bad weather that prevailed. From the whale which fell to the "*Britannia's*" share, although but a small one, thirteen barrels of oil were procured; and, in the opinion of the master, the oil, from its containing a greater proportion of that valuable part of the fish called by the whalers the head-matter, was worth ten pounds more per ton than that of the fish of any part of the world that he had been in. He



thought that a most advantageous voyage might be made upon that coast, as he was confident upwards of fifteen thousand whales were seen in the first ten days that he was absent, the greater number of which were observed off the harbour of Sydney; and he was prevented from filling his ship by bad weather alone, having met with only one day during the time he was out in which he could lower down a boat.

The success and report of the master of the "Mary Ann" were very different; he had been as far to the southward as the latitude of  $75^{\circ}$  without seeing a whale; and in a gale of wind shipped a sea that stove two of his boats, and washed down the vessels for boiling the oil, which were fixed in brick-work, and to repair which he was obliged to return to port.

The "Matilda" came in a few days afterwards from Jervis Bay, being leaky. They had seen many whales, but were prevented by the badness of the weather from killing any.

The "William and Ann" soon followed, confirming the report of the great number of fish which were to be seen upon the coast, and the difficulty of getting at them. She had killed only one, and came in to repair her main-mast.

A difference of opinion prevailed among the masters of the ships which had been out, respecting the establishing of a whale-fishery upon that coast. In one particular, however, they all agreed; which was, that the coast abounded with fish; but the major part of them thought that the currents and bad weather prevailing at this season of the year, and which appeared to be also the season of the fish, would prevent any ships from meeting with that success, of which on their setting out they themselves had formed such sanguine hopes. One of them thought that the others, in giving this opinion, were premature, and that they were not sufficiently acquainted with the weather on the coast to form any judgment of the advantage to be derived from future attempts. They were determined, nevertheless, to give it another trial, on the failure of which they meant to prosecute their voyage to the coast of Peru. They accordingly sailed again toward the latter end of the month.

Before the full ration had continued quite three months, it was once more reduced; two pounds of flour being taken off, and one pint of pease and one pint of oatmeal issued in their stead.

The "Supply" armed tender, having completed her repairs, sailed for England on the 26th. The services of this little



vessel had endeared her, and her officers and people, to the colony. The regret which they felt at parting with them was, however, lessened by a knowledge that they were flying from a country of want and discomfort, to one of abundance and pleasure; where, it was to be hoped, the services that they had performed would be rewarded by that attention to which they naturally looked up, and had an indisputable claim.

At this time the public live-stock in the settlement consisted of one stallion aged, one mare, two young stallions, two colts, sixteen cows, two calves, one ram, fifty ewes, six lambs, one boar, fourteen sows, and twenty-two pigs.

The ground in cultivation at and about Parramatta amounted to three hundred acres in maize, forty-four in wheat, six in barley, one in oats; two in potatoes, four in vines, eighty-six in garden-ground, and seventeen in cultivation by the New South Wales Corps. In addition to these, there were one hundred and fifty acres cleared to be sown with turnips; ninety acres were in cultivation by settlers, twenty-eight by officers, civil and military, at and about Sydney; and at Parramatta one hundred and forty acres were inclosed, and the timber thinned for cattle; making a total of nine hundred and twenty acres of land, thinned, cleared, and cultivated.

The mortality during the month of November had been great, fifty male and four female convicts dying within it. Five hundred sick persons received medicines at the end of that time. The extreme heat of the weather had not only increased the sick list, but had added one to the number of deaths. On the 4th, a convict attending upon one of the gentlemen, in passing from his house to his kitchen, without any covering upon his head received a *coup de soleil*, which at the time deprived him of speech and motion, and, in less than four-and-twenty hours, of his life. The thermometer on that day stood at twelve o'clock at  $94\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ , and the wind was N.W.

By the dry weather which prevailed the water had been so much affected, besides being lessened by the watering of some transports, that a prohibition was laid by the Governor on the watering of the remainder at Sydney, and their boats were directed to go to a convenient place upon the north shore. To remedy this evil, the Governor had employed the stone-mason's gang to cut tanks out of the rock, which would be reservoirs for the water large enough to supply the settlement for some time.



On the 3rd of December, two of the whalers, the "Matilda" and "Mary Ann," came in from sea. The former had landed a boat in a bay on the coast about six miles southward of Port Stephens, where the seine was hauled, and a large quantity of fish taken; but of the fish that they went in search of they saw none. The "Mary Ann" was rather more fortunate. By going to the southward, she killed nine fish; of five of them she secured enough to procure about thirty barrels of oil; but was prevented by bad weather from getting more. These ships sailed again immediately, and both ran down the coast as far to the southward as  $36^{\circ} 30'$ , and returned without killing a fish. The masters attributed their bad success to currents; and, giving up all hopes of a fishery there, they determined to quit the coast. The two other ships returned with the like ill fortune. The masters were all now of one opinion, and alike disinclined to try the coast any longer. It must be remarked however, that the whalers were not out of port at any one time long enough to enable them to speak with any great degree of precision either for or against the probability of success. They seemed more desirous of obtaining a knowledge of the harbours on the coast: the "William and Ann" had been seen in Broken Bay; others had visited Botany Bay and Jervis Bay; the "Salamander" had remained long enough in Port Stephens (a harbour to the northward, until then not visited by any one), to take an eye-sketch of the harbour and some of its arms; and Port Jackson was found to have its conveniences. After a well-manned and well-found whaler should have kept the sea for an entire season, the probability of success might be determined.

The transport having returned from Norfolk Island, with the Lieutenant-Governor and the officers and soldiers of the marine corps, who were to take their passage to England in the "Gorgon," the greater part of the marine detachment embarked on board of that ship on the 13th. Those who did not embark were left for the duty of the place until the remainder of the New South Wales corps should arrive. The "Gorgon" sailed on the 18th.

The marines who now left Port Jackson, had gone there in the first ships, and were as valuable a corps as any in His Majesty's service. They had struggled in that country with greatly more than the common hardships of their duty; and were now quitting it, after having opened and smoothed the way for their successors, and from which, whatever benefit



might hereafter be derived must be derived by those who had the easy task of treading in paths previously and painfully formed by them.

The Cove and the settlement were now resuming that dull uniformity of uninteresting circumstances which had generally prevailed. The "Supply" and "Gorgon" had departed, and with them a valuable part of the society; and in a few days after the "Matilda" and the "Mary Ann" sailed for the coast of Peru. These had some convicts on board, who were permitted to ship themselves with the masters.

A further reduction of one pound of flour from the ration took place at the conclusion of December; and from the state of the provision stores, the Governor, on Christmas-day, could only give one pound of flour to each woman in the settlement.

At Parramatta various offences were still committed, and many of the convicts there not having any part of their week's ration remaining when Tuesday or Wednesday night came, the Governor directed, as he had before done for the same reason, that the provisions should be issued daily. This measure being disapproved, the convicts assembled in rather a tumultuous manner before the Governor's house at Parramatta, to request that their provisions might be served as usual on Saturdays. The Governor refused; and as they were heard to murmur and talk of obtaining by different means what was refused to entreaty (words spoken among the crowd, and the person who was so daring not being distinguished from the rest), he assured them that, as he knew the major part of them were led by eight or ten designing men to whom they looked up, and to whose names he was not a stranger, on any open appearance of discontent, he should make immediate examples of them. Before they were dismissed, they promised greater propriety of conduct and implicit obedience to the orders of their superiors, and declared their readiness to receive their provisions as had been directed.

This was the first instance of any tumultuous assembly among these people, and was now to be ascribed to the spirit of resistance and villainy lately imported by the new comers.

The most material public work of December was the completing and occupying of the new store on the east side; its dimensions were eighty feet by twenty-four; and as it was built for the purpose of containing dry stores, the height was beyond what was commonly adopted in that country, and a spacious



loft was formed, capable of containing a large quantity of bale goods.

During the month a warrant of emancipation passed the seal of the territory to John Lowe, Henry Cane, Richard Cheers, Thomas Fisk, Daniel Cubitt, Charles Pass, George Bolton, William Careless, William Curtis, John Chapman Morris, Thomas Merrick, William Skinner, and James Weavers, convicts who left England in the "Guardian," on condition of their residing within the limits of that government, and not returning to England within the period of their respective sentences. Instructions to this effect had been received from Home, Lieutenant Riou having interested himself much in their behalf on account of their good conduct while under his directions. They were to be at liberty to work at any trade they might be acquainted with; but during their continuance in that country they were to be disposed of wherever the Governor should think proper. They were also at liberty to settle land upon their own account.

The number who died by sickness in the year 1791 were, one of the civil establishment; two soldiers; one hundred and fifty-five male and eight female convicts; and five children; making in the whole twenty-eight more than had died during the preceding year.

In the above time one male convict was executed; one drowned; four lost in the woods (exclusive of the Irish convicts who had absconded, and of whom no certain account was ever procured); one destroyed himself; and eight men, one woman, and two children, had run from the settlement; making a loss of one hundred and eighty-nine persons.

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## CHAPTER IX.

Early in the month of January, 1792, sixty-two people, settlers and convicts, with Mr. Bayne, the Chaplain of the New South Wales corps (who offered his services, as there never had been a clergyman there), embarked on board the "Queen" for Norfolk Island; the master of that ship having engaged to carry them and a certain quantity of provisions thither for the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds. Of the settlers twenty-two were lately discharged from the marine service, and the remainder were convicts; some of the latter, whose terms of transportation had expired, had chosen Norfolk Island to settle in, and others were sent to be employed for the public.

This ship, with the "Admiral Barrington" for India, sailed on the 6th, and the "Salamander" and "Britannia" on the 7th. By these ships the colony lost some useful people whom it could ill spare; but who, their terms of transportation having expired, would not be induced to remain in the settlement, and could not be prevented from quitting it.

By the commissary's report of the muster, it appeared that forty-four men and nine women were absent and unaccounted for; in which number were included those who were wandering in the woods, seeking for a new settlement, or endeavouring to get into the path to China! Of these people many, after lingering a long time, and existing merely on roots and wild berries, perished miserably. Others found their way in, after being absent several weeks, and reported the fate of their wretched companions, being themselves reduced to nearly the same condition, worn down and exhausted with fatigue and want of proper sustenance.

Yet, although the appearance of these people confirmed their account of what they had undergone, others were still found ignorant and weak enough to run into the woods, impressed with the idea of either reaching China by land, or finding a new settlement where labour would not be imposed on them, and where the inhabitants were civil and peaceable. Two of these wretches, at the time of their absconding, met a convict in their way, not far from the new grounds, whom they robbed



of his provisions, and beat in so cruel a manner that, after languishing for some time, he died. He described their persons and mentioned their names, with the precise circumstances attending their treatment of him; and it was hoped that they would have lived to return, and receive the reward of their crime; but one of their companions, who survived them, brought in an account of their having miserably ended a wicked existence in the woods.

Several people died at Parramatta, some of whom were at labour, apparently in health, and died in four-and-twenty hours. An extraordinary circumstance attended the death of one poor creature, though it certainly was not the cause of it: while dragging with others at a brick cart, he was seized with a fainting fit, and when he recovered was laid down under a cart which stood in the road, that he might be in the shade. Being weak and ill, he fell asleep. On waking, and feeling something tight about his neck, he put up his hand, when, to his amazement and horror, he grasped the folds of a large snake which had twined itself round his neck. In endeavouring to disengage it, the animal bit him by the lip, which became instantly tumid. Two men, passing by, took off the snake and threw it on the ground, when it erected itself and flew at one of them; but they soon killed it. The man who had fainted at the cart died the next morning, not, however, from any effect of the bite of the snake, but from general debility.

About this time the public bakehouse at Parramatta was robbed of a large quantity of flour and biscuits; to effect which theft the robbers had made their way down the chimney. The convicts at this place having assembled in an improper and tumultuous manner, the Governor thought proper to issue a proclamation, in which the convicts were strictly forbidden ever to assemble in numbers under any pretence whatever: all complaints being to be made through the medium of the superintendents or overseers; and disobedience to this proclamation was to be punished with the utmost severity.

Among the numerous instances of the profligacy of the convicts which occurred at this time, one is deserving of notice: a woman who had been entrusted to carry the allowance of flour belonging to two other women to the bake-house, where she had run in debt for bread which she had taken up on their account, mixed with it a quantity of pounded stone, in the proportion of two-thirds of grit to one of flour. Fortunately,



she was detected before it had been mixed with the other flour at the bake-house, and was sentenced to wear an iron collar for six months as a punishment for her offence.

One convict during this month was executed for theft: at the tree he addressed his fellow-convicts, warning them to avoid the paths that he had pursued; but protested that he had been induced by hunger to commit the crime for which he suffered. He appeared desirous of death, declaring that he knew he could not live without stealing.

To a tract of land marked out for eight marines who had become settlers, the name of the Field of Mars was given by Governor Phillip.

The convicts employed in cultivating and clearing public ground beyond Parramatta, having been landed in a weak and sickly state, wore in general a most miserable and emaciated appearance, and numbers of them died daily. The reduced ration by no means contributed to their amendment; the wheat that was raised in the last year (four hundred and sixty bushels), after reserving sufficient for seed, was issued to them at a pound per man per week; and a pound of rice per week was issued to each male convict at Sydney.

On the 14th of February the signal was made for a sail, and shortly after the "Pitt," Captain Edward Manning, anchored in the cove from England, having sailed on the 17th of July from Yarmouth Roads, and had rather a long passage, touching at St. Jago, Rio de Janeiro, and the Cape of Good Hope. She had on board Francis Grose, Esq., the Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements, and Major-Commandant of the New South Wales corps; one company of which, together with the adjutant, came out with him.

This vessel brought out three hundred and nineteen male, and forty-nine female convicts, five children, and seven free women, with salt provisions calculated to serve that number of people ten months, but which would only furnish the colony with provisions for forty days. The supply of provisions was confined to salt meat, under the idea that the colony was not in immediate want of flour, and that a supply had been sent from Calcutta, which, together with what had been procured from Batavia, that which had been sent from England, and the grain that might have been raised in the settlements, would be adequate to their consumption. The dispatches, however, which had been forwarded from Port Jackson by the "Justinian" in July, 1790, having been received by the



Secretary of State, what appeared from those communications to be necessary for the colony were to be sent in one or more ships to be dispatched in the autumn, with an additional number of convicts, and the remaining company of the new corps. A sloop in frame, of the burthen of forty-one tons, was sent out in the "Pitt"; to make room for which, several bales of clothing, and many useful articles, were obliged to be excluded.

The "Pitt" brought in many of her convicts sick; and several of her seamen, with fifteen soldiers of the New South Wales corps, had died shortly after her leaving St. Jago, owing to her having touched there during an unhealthy season.

Permission having been obtained, a shop was opened at a hut on shore for the sale of various articles brought out in the "Pitt"; and, although a fleet of transports had but lately sailed from the place, notwithstanding the different orders which had been sent to Bengal, and the high price at which everything was sold, the avidity with which all descriptions of people grasped at what was to be purchased was extraordinary, and could only be accounted for by the distance of their situation from the mother-country, the uncertainty of receiving supplies from thence, and the length of time which they had heretofore had the mortification to find elapse without receiving any.

It being necessary to send to Norfolk Island a proportion of what provisions were in store, the "Pitt" was engaged for that purpose, for which service her owners were to receive £651, a sum equal to six weeks demurrage for the ship.

There was at this time only fifty-two days' flour, and twenty-one weeks' salt provisions in store, at the reduced ration then issued.

A person deemed well qualified for the purpose was now employed to set up the vessel, the frame of which had arrived in the "Pitt"; but as he was the only shipwright in the colony, the work of course proceeded slowly, and she would most assuredly have much sooner rendered the services which were required of her, had she been put together in England, coppered, and sent out manned and officered; by which means too, the settlement would have received many articles which were left behind to make room for her in the "Pitt."

In the latter end of March a malady of an alarming nature was perceived in the colony. Four or five of the convicts were seized with insanity; and, as the major part of those who were



visited with this calamity were females (who, on account of their sex were not harrassed with hard labour, and who in general shared largely of such little comforts as were to be procured in the settlement), it was difficult to assign a cause for this disorder.

With a dreadful sick list, and death making rapid strides, April commenced: a lamentable circumstance to those who had to provide by their labour for the support of the colony, in which, from its great distance, not only from the parent country, but from every port where supplies could be procured, it became an object of the first magnitude and importance to endeavour speedily, and by every possible exertion, to place its inhabitants in a situation that accident or delay might not affect. His Majesty's ship "Guardian" afforded a melancholy recollection how much the colony had already felt from misadventure; and the delay which occurred in the voyage of the "Lady Juliana" transport had proved equally calamitous. The recent circumstance of a ship arriving without a supply of flour, and other unfortunate contingencies, spoke with a "warning voice," and loudly demanded that every arm which could be raised should be exerted to make provision against the hour of want. Few, however, in comparison with the measure of their necessities, were the numbers daily brought into the field for the purpose of cultivation; and of those who could handle the hoe or the spade by far the greater part carried hunger in their countenances; but it was earnestly and anxiously hoped and expected, that by the speedy arrival of supplies from England the full ration of every species of provisions would be once more issued, when labour would be renewed with additional vigour and effect, health and strength be seen residing among them, and approaches of independence on Great Britain be something more than a sanguine hope or visionary speculation. The convicts, and such stores and provisions as the Governor thought it necessary to send to Norfolk Island, being embarked, the "Pitt" sailed on the 7th.

On the 13th died Mr. David Burton, of a gun-shot wound. This young man, on account of the talents that he possessed as a botanist, and the services which he was capable of rendering in the surveying line, could but very ill be spared in the settlement. His loss was occasioned by one of those accidents which so frequently happen to persons who are inexperienced in the use of fire-arms. It was remarkable, that this young man went out shooting with that sensation of the mind which



is called presentiment, having more than once observed, that he feared some accident would happen; nor did he cease to be tormented with this unpleasant idea, until his gun, which he carried rather awkwardly, went off, and lodged its contents in the ground within a few inches of the feet of the person who preceded him in the walk through the woods. Considering this as the accident which his mind foreboded, he went out afterwards perfectly freed from apprehension. But he was deceived; for on reaching the banks of the river, they found on its surface innumerable flocks of those fowl of which they were in search. Mr. Burton, in order to have a better view of them, got upon the stump of a tree, and resting his hand on the muzzle of his piece, raised himself by its assistance as high as he was able. The butt of the gun rested on the ground, which was thickly covered with long grass, shrubs, and weeds. No one saw the danger of such a situation in time to prevent what followed. By some motion of this unfortunate young man the piece went off, and the contents, entering his wrist, forced their way up between the two bones of his right arm, which were much shattered, to the elbow. One of his companions, with great presence of mind, applied bandages torn from a shirt, or the wounded man must soon have bled to death. This accident happened at five in the afternoon; and it was not till ten at night of the following day that the sufferer reached Parramatta. The consequence was, that such a violent fever and inflammation had taken place, that any attempt to save life by amputation would only have hastened his end. In the night of the 12th a mortification came on, and he expired the following morning, leaving behind him, what he universally enjoyed while living, the esteem and respect of all who knew him.

A person of a far different description and character met with an accidental death the following day; being killed by a blow from the limb of a tree, which fell on his head as he passed under it, and fractured his skull. He died upon the spot, without being allowed a moment for that repentance of which his past life stood greatly in need. His companions and fellow-prisoners (for he was a convict) declared him to have been so great a reprobate, that he was scarcely ever known to speak without an oath, or without calling on his Maker as a witness to the truth of a lie that he was about to utter.

The weather, from the commencement of the month, had been extremely bad; heavy storms of wind and rain having



generally prevailed until the 13th, when fair weather succeeded. At Parramatta the gale had done much damage; several huts, which were built in low ground, were rendered almost inaccessible, and the greater part of the wattled huts suffered very much. A large portion of the cleared ground was laid under water, and such corn as had not been reaped was beaten down. At Sydney the effects of the storm, though it had been equally violent, were not so severe. Most of the houses, indeed, were rendered damp, and had leaks in different parts; and seeds which had been recently sown were washed out of the ground. In the woods it had raged with much violence; the people employed to kill game declared that it was dangerous to walk in the forests; and the ground, covered with huge limbs or whole trunks of trees, confirmed the truth of their report.

On the 13th a reduction took place in the ration. Three pounds of flour, and two pounds of maize, with four pounds of pork, were served to each man and three pounds of flour, and one pound of maize with four pounds of pork, to each woman. The children received the usual proportion. To such alterations the settlement had now for some years been habituated; and, although it was well known that they never were imposed but when the state of the stores rendered them absolutely necessary, it was impossible to meet the reduction without reflecting, that the established ration would have been adequate to every want; the plea of hunger could not have been advanced as the motive and excuse for thefts; and disease would not have met so powerful an ally in its ravages among the debilitated and emaciated objects which the gaols had crowded into transports, and the transports landed in these settlements.

The works in hand were, building brick huts at Sydney for convicts, consisting of two apartments, each hut being twenty-six feet in front, and fourteen feet in width, and intended to contain ten people, with a suitable allotment of garden ground; completing tanks for water; widening the bridges, &c. One day in each week was dedicated to the issuing of provisions; and the labour of the other five (with interruptions from bad weather, and the plea of the reduced ration) did not amount in all to three good working days.

At Parramatta the principal labour was getting in and housing the maize, and preparing ground for the next year's grain. The foundations of a town-hall and a hospital were laid. The town-hall was intended to include a market-place



for the sale of grain, fish, poultry, live stock, wearing apparel, and every other article that convicts might purchase or sell. An order establishing this regulation had been given out at Parramatta, and a clerk of the market appointed to register every commodity that was brought for barter or sale; directing, in the case of non-compliance, the forfeiture both of the purchase-money and of the article; to be given, one moiety to the informer, and the other to the hospital for the benefit of the sick. This order was meant to prevent the selling or interchanging of stolen goods among the convicts, which prevailed to a great degree.

It required something more than common application to adapt remedies to the various irregularities which from time to time grew up in the settlement; and something more than common ingenuity to counteract the artifices of those whose meditations were hourly directed to schemes of evasion or depredation.

The natives had not lately given any interruption by acts of hostility. Several of their young people continued to reside among the settlers; and the different houses in the town were frequently visited by their relations: but very little information that could be depended upon respecting their manners and customs was obtained through this intercourse; and it was observed that they conversed with the white people in a mutilated and incorrect language formed entirely on the imperfect knowledge and improper application, by the latter, of the native's words.

The mortality in the month of April had been extremely great. Distressing as it was, however, to see the poor wretches daily dropping into the grave, it was far more afflicting to observe the countenances and emaciated persons of many who remained, soon to follow their miserable companions. Every step was taken that could be devised to save them; a fishery was established at the south head, exclusively for the use of the sick. The different people who were employed by individuals to kill game were given up for the use of the hospital; and, to stimulate them to exertion, a reward was offered according to their success.

The weakest of the convicts were excused from all kinds of hard labour; but it was not hard labour that destroyed them; it was an entire want of strength in the constitution, and which nothing but proper nourishment could repair.



This dreadful mortality was confined chiefly to the convicts who had arrived in the last year; of one hundred and twenty-two male convicts who came out in the "Queen" transport from Ireland, fifty only were living at the beginning of May. The robberies which were every day and night committed were also nearly confined to this class of the convicts; and the wretches who were concerned in the commission of them were in general too weak to receive a punishment adequate to their crimes. Their universal plea was hunger; a plea, which, though it could not be contradicted, imperious necessity deprived of its due weight, and frequently compelled punishment to be inflicted when pity was the prevailing sentiment.

The Indian corn which was stolen and destroyed at this time was computed to have been at least one-sixth of what had been raised. This was a very serious loss, and increased the anxiety for the receipt of those supplies from England which had not arrived, though the time had elapsed in which they should have appeared, had their departure taken place at the period mentioned by the Secretary of State. His Excellency therefore thought it prudent still farther to abridge the ration of flour to one pound and a half; and, as Indian corn was now necessarily become the principal part of each person's sustenance, hand-mills and querns were set to work to grind it coarse for every person both at Sydney and at Parramatta; and at the latter place wooden mortars, with a lever and pestle, were also used to break the corn; and these pounded it much finer than it could be ground by the hand-mills; but it was effected with great labour. This was, on the whole, the worst ration hitherto issued. The rice formerly given was much more nutritive than the Indian corn now served in its stead; it could likewise be used in a much greater variety of modes than it was possible to prepare the corn in.

As at this period the flour in store was reduced to a very inconsiderable quantity, twenty-four days at the new ration, and the salt provisions not affording a supply for a longer time than three months, it became a melancholy, although natural reflection, that had not such numbers died, both in the passage and since the landing of those who survived the voyage, they would not at that hour have had the miserable pittance which they yet received: thus strangely did they derive benefit from the calamities of their fellow-creatures.

Several of the settlers at Parramatta had, notwithstanding the extreme drought of the season, had such crops as enabled



them to take off from the public store, some one, and others two convicts, to assist in preparing the grounds for the next year. These bartered their corn for salt provision; but others of the settlers, inattentive to their own interests, and more desirous of acquiring for the present what they deemed comforts, than studious to provide for the future, not only neglected the cultivation of their lands, but sold the breeding stock with which they had been supplied by order of the Governor. Exclusive of the idle people, however, of which there were not many, the settlers were found to be doing very well, their farms promising to place them shortly in a state of independence on the public stores in the articles of provisions and grain; and it is proper to remind the reader of this account, that they had had to combat with the bad effects of a short and reduced ration nearly the whole of the time that they had been employed in the cultivation of ground on their own account.

In addition to the depredations of their own people, the natives had been some time suspected of stealing the corn at the settlements beyond Parramatta. On the 18th a party of the tribe inhabiting the woods, to the number of fifteen or sixteen, was observed coming out of a hut at the middle settlement, dressed in such clothing as they found there, and taking with them a quantity of corn in nets. The person who saw them imagined at first from their appearance that they were convicts; but perceiving one of them preparing to throw a spear at him, he levelled his piece, which was loaded with small shot, and fired. The native instantly dropped his spear, and the whole party ran away, leaving behind them the nets with the corn, some blankets, and one or two spears. It was supposed that the native was wounded; for in a few days information was received from Parramatta, that a convict had been murdered, or rather butchered by some of the natives. When the body was found, it was not quite cold, and had at least thirty spear wounds in it. The head was cut in several places, and most of the teeth were knocked out. They had taken his clothing and provisions, and the provisions of another man which he was carrying out to him. The natives with whom they had intercourse said, that this murder was committed by some of the people who inhabited the woods, and was done probably in revenge for the shot that was fired at the natives who some time before were stripping the hut.



The works during this month, both at Sydney and Parramatta, had gone on but slowly; as during the greater part of it the people were employed in getting in the maize and sowing wheat.

The following were the prices of grain and other articles, as they were sold during this month at Sydney, and at the market-place at Parramatta:—

At Sydney: Flour, from 6d. to 1s. per lb.; maize, per bushel, 12s. 6d. to 15s.; laying hens, from 7s. to 10s. each; cocks, for killing from 4s. to 7s. each; eggs, 3s. per dozen; fresh pork, 1s. per lb.; potatoes, 3d. per lb.; good cabbages, 1d. each; greens, 6d. per dozen; sows in pig, £4 10s. to £6 6s.; sows that were not, from £3 to £4 4s.; growing pigs, from £1 to £2 10s. each; sucking pigs, 10s. each; moist sugar, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per lb.; coffee, 2s. to 2s. 6d. per lb.; salt pork, per lb., from 8d. to 9d.; tobacco, Brazil, per lb., from 3s. to 5s.

At Parramatta: Flour, 1s. per lb.; maize, per bushel, from 11s. to 13s.; laying hens, from 7s. 6d. to 10s. each; cocks for killing, from 4s. 6d. to 5s.; chickens, 2 months old, 3s. each; eggs per dozen, 3s.; fresh pork, per lb., from 1s. to 1s. 3d.; salt pork, per lb., from 10d. to 1s.; potatoes, per lb., from 3d. to 4d.; a lot of cabbages, per hundred, 10s.; tea, per lb., from 16s. to £1 13s.; coffee, per lb., from 2s. to 3s.; moist sugar, from 2s. to 2s. 6d. per lb.; tobacco, grown in the country, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per lb.; Virginia of Brazil, from 4s. to 6s. per lb.; soap, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per lb.; cheese, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per lb.

With infinite satisfaction it was observed at the beginning of the month of June, that the mortality and sickness among the people had very much decreased. This was attributed by the medical gentlemen to the quantities of fresh meat which had been obtained at Parramatta by the people who were employed to shoot for the hospital; sufficiency having been brought in at one time to supply the sick with fresh meat for a week; and for the remainder of the month in the proportion of twice or three times a week great quantities of vegetables had also been given to those who were in health, as well as to the sick, both from the public ground at the farther settlement (which had produced most excellent turnips) and from the Governor's garden. A small quantity of rum had likewise been from time to time given to the invalids, and had been observed to have been of infinite service to them.

Notwithstanding the mortality and sickness which had prevailed among the convicts who came in the last ships, much



labour had been performed at the new grounds by those who were capable of handling the hoe and the spade. At this time the quantity of ground in wheat, and cleared and broken up for maize, there and at Parramatta, was such as (if not visited again by a dry season), would at least, computing the produce even at what it was last year, yield a sufficiency of grain for the present number of people during one twelve-month. But everyone doubted the possibility of getting all the corn into the ground within the proper time, unless the colony should be very speedily relieved from its distresses; as the further reduction which must shortly, unless succour arrived, take place in the ration, would inevitably be followed by a diminution of the daily labour.

On the 20th, however, to the inexpressible joy of all ranks of people in the settlement, the "Atlantic" storeship anchored in the cove, with a cargo of rice, soujee, and dhol, from Calcutta. She had been much longer performing her voyage than was expected, owing to some delay in procuring the articles required, and to her having besides met with much bad weather, and some heavy gales of wind. She brought two bulls and a cow of the Bengal breed, together with twenty sheep and twenty goats; but these were of so diminutive a species, that unless the breed could be considerably improved by that already in the country, very little benefit was for a length of time to be expected from their importation. Various seeds and plants also were received from the company's botanical garden.

Information was received from Calcutta of the loss of His Majesty's ship "Pandora," Captain Edwards, who had been among the Friendly Islands in search of Christian and his piratical crew, fourteen of whom he had secured, and was returning with the purpose of surveying Endeavour Straits, when he unfortunately struck upon a reef in latitude  $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , eleven degrees only to the northward of Port Jackson. By his boats he providentially reached Timor with ninety-nine of his officers and people, being all of the ship's company that were saved. At Timor, on his arrival, he found Bryant and his companions, who had made their escape from Sydney in the fishing cutter in March, 1791. These people had framed and told a plausible tale of distress, of their having been cast away at sea; and this for a time was believed; but they soon, by their language to each other, and by practising the tricks of their former profession, gave room for suspicion; and being



taken up, their true characters and the circumstances of their escape were divulged. The Dutch Governor of Timor delivered them to Captain Edwards, who took them on with him to Batavia, whence he was to proceed to England. The circumstance of these people having reached Timor confirmed what had been suggested immediately after their departure, that the master of the snow "*Waaksamheyd*" had furnished Bryant with instructions how to proceed, and with everything that he stood in need of during his voyage. While at Sydney this man had constantly said, that every sort of refreshment was to be procured at Timor; yet when Captain Hunter, while at sea, proposed to steer for that island, he declared that nothing could be got there, and so prevented that officer from going thither. This evidently arose from the fear of himself and his friends being detected.

Had it not been for the fortunate discovery and subsequent delivery of these people to a captain of a British man-o'-war, the evident practicability of reaching Timor in an open boat might have operated with others to make the like attempt, and to carry off boats from the settlement; which during the absence of the King's ships belonging to the station was never difficult; and it was now hoped, that the certainty of every boat which should reach that or any other Dutch settlement under similar circumstances being suspected, and received accordingly, would have its due effect.

The supply of provisions received by the "*Atlantic*" being confined to grain, it became necessary to reduce the ration of salt meat; and, on the Friday following only two pounds of pork were issued, instead of four. The former allowance of flour, and maize was continued, with the addition of one pound of rice and one quart of pease.

On the last day of June, some natives from the South shore of Botany Bay, whether, from the hope of reward, or from actually having seen some ships at a distance, informed the Governor that a few days before they had perceived four or five sail, one of which they described to be larger than the others, standing off the land, with a westerly wind.

The different species of provisions which had been received by the "*Calcutta*" were not much esteemed by the people. The flour or soujee, from their not knowing the proper mode of preparing it for bread, soon became sour. The pease were complained of as boiling hard; and the rice was found to be full of husks. Some pork also of which eight casks had been



sent as an experiment, was, on being issued, found to be for the most part putrid. These circumstances, together with the extreme minuteness of the Bengal breed of cattle, excited a general hope in the inhabitants of these settlements that they might not be left to depend on that country for supplies. To the parent country everyone anxiously looked for speedy and substantial assistance; and day after day was passed in the fruitless hope that the morrow would come accompanied with the long-wished-for arrival of ships.

The natives persisting in having seen the ships before spoken of, and as everyone remembered that the "Justinian," after making the heads of Port Jackson, had been kept at sea for three weeks, a fond hope was cherished that the sun had shone upon the whitened sails of some approaching vessel, which had been discovered by the penetrating eye of their savage neighbours. In this anxiety and expectation they remained till the 26th, when the long-looked-for signal was made; and in a few hours after the "Britannia" storeship, Mr. William Raven master, anchored, after a passage of twenty-three weeks from Falmouth.

The "Britannia" was the first of three ships that were to be dispatched hither, having on board twelve months' clothing for the convicts, and four months' flour, and eight months' beef and pork for every description of persons in the settlements, at full allowance, calculating their numbers at four thousand six hundred and thirty-nine. It was still a matter of doubt in England, whether the merchants of Calcutta had supplied that colony with provisions; and, under the idea that some circumstance might have prevented them, the present supply was ordered.

It was heard with much satisfaction in the colony, that some steps had been taken towards prosecuting Donald Trail, the master of the "Neptune" transport, for his treatment of the convicts with which he sailed from England in the year 1790. The sickness and mortality which prevailed among them excited a suspicion that they had been improperly treated; and information upon oath was soon procured of many acts of neglect, ill usage, and cruelty toward them.

On the day following the "Britannia's" arrival the ration was directed to be increased to (for each man):—

Four pounds of maize, three pounds of soujee, seven pounds of beef, or in lieu thereof 4 pounds of pork, three pints of pease, and half a pound of rice. Two-thirds of the man's ration was to



be issued to each woman and to every child above ten years of age; one-half of the man's ration to each child above two and under ten years of age, and one-fourth to each child under two years of age.

Thus happily was the colony once more put upon something like a full ration of provisions; a change that may be well supposed to have given universal satisfaction, more particularly as at the arrival of the "*Britannia*" there were in the public store no more than twenty-four days' salt provision, at the ration then issued. A delay of one month in her voyage must have placed the colony in a state that would have excited the commiseration of its greatest enemies. But with this new ration all entertained new hopes, and trusted that their future labours would be crowned with success, and that the necessity of sending out supplies from the mother-country, until the colony could support itself without assistance, would have become so evident from the frequency of their distresses, that the historian would no more have to fill his page with comparisons between what they might have been and what they at this time were; to lament the non-arrival of supplies; nor to paint the miseries and wretchedness which had ensued; but be enabled to adopt a language to which he might truly be said to have been hitherto a stranger, and paint the glowing prospects of a golden harvest, the triumph of a well-filled store, and the consequent increasing prosperity of the settlements.

His Excellency thought fit, towards the conclusion of July, to exercise the power vested in him by Act of Parliament, and by His Majesty's commission under the great seal, of remitting either wholly, or in part, the term for which felons might be transported, by granting an absolute remission of the term for which Elizabeth Perry had been sentenced. This woman had married Ruse a settler. The good conduct of the wife and the industry of the husband, who had for some time supported himself, his wife, a child, and two convicts, independent of the public store, were the reasons assigned in the instrument which restored her to the rights and privileges of a free woman, for extending to her the hand of forgiveness.

This power, so pleasing to the feelings of its possessor, had hitherto been very sparingly exercised; and those persons who had felt its influence were not found to have been undeserving.

Preparing roofs for new barracks, bringing in bricks to the spot appointed for their construction, and discharging the "*Atlantic*" and the "*Britannia*," were the principal works in



hand at Sydney during July. At the settlements beyond Parramatta (which had lately obtained and were in future to be distinguished by the name of Toon-gab-be) the convicts were employed in preparing the ground for the reception of the next year's crop of maize.

On the 17th of August the "Britannia" was cleared, and discharged from Government employ; but, a deficiency appearing in the weight of the salt provisions delivered from that ship, a survey was immediately ordered; and it appeared from the report of the persons employed to conduct it, that the casks of beef were deficient, on an average, thirty-six pounds and one-third, and the tierces twenty-one pounds and one-third. It also appeared, that the meat was lean, coarse, and bony, and worse than they had ever seen issued in His Majesty's service. A deception of this nature was of course more severely felt in this country, as its inhabitants had but lately experienced a change from a most scanty ration of salt provisions; and every ounce lost was of importance, as the supply had been calculated on a supposition of each cask containing its full weight.

During the month of August, the Governor thought it necessary to issue some regulations to be observed by those convicts whose sentences of transportation had expired. The number of people of this description in the colony had been so much increased lately, that it became requisite to determine with precision the line in which they were to move. Having emerged from the condition of convicts, and got rid of the restraint which was necessarily imposed on them while under that subjection, many of them seemed to have forgotten that they were still amenable to the regulations of the colony, and appeared to have shaken off, with the yoke of bondage, all restraint and dependence whatsoever. They were, therefore, called upon to declare their intentions respecting their future mode of living. Those who wished to be allowed to provide for themselves were informed, that on application to the Judge-advocate, they would receive a certificate of their having served their several periods of transportation; which certificate they would deposit with the Commissary, as his voucher for striking them off the provision and clothing list; and once a week they were to report in what manner and for whom they had been employed. Such as should be desirous of returning to England were informed that no obstacle would be thrown in their way, they being at liberty to ship themselves



on board of such vessels as would give them a passage. And those who preferred labouring for the public were to give in their names to the Commissary, who would victual and clothe them as long as their services might be required.

Of those at Sydney and at Parramatta, who had fulfilled the sentence of the law, by far the greater part signified their intention of returning to England by the first opportunity; but the getting away from the colony was now a matter of some difficulty; as it was understood that a clause was to be inserted in all future contracts for shipping for that country, subjecting the masters to certain penalties, on certificates being received of their having brought away any convicts or other persons without the Governor's permission; and as it was not probable that many of them would, on their return, refrain from the vices or avoid the society of those companions who had been the cause of their transportation to that country, not many could obtain the sanction of the Governor for their return, unless indeed they had well entitled themselves to such indulgence by praiseworthy conduct during their residence in the colony.

The month of September was ushered in with rain and storms of wind, thunder, and lightning. At Parramatta and Toongabbe, as well as at Sydney, much rain fell for several days. On the return of fine weather, it was seen with general satisfaction, that the wheat sown at the latter settlement looked and promised well, and had not suffered from the rain.

On the 30th, the "Britannia" sailed for Dusky Bay in New Zealand; and the same night the "Atlantic" returned from Norfolk Island, after safely landing her cargo. By her they learned, that the expectations which had been formed of the crops at that place had been too sanguine; but that their salt provisions lasted very well. Governor King, however, wrote that the crops then in the ground promised favourably, although he would not venture to speak decidedly, as they were very much annoyed by the grub. This was an enemy produced by the extreme richness of the soil; and it was remarked, that as the land was opened and cleared, it was found to be exposed to the blighting winds which infest that island.

The great havoc and destruction which the reduced ration had occasioned among the birds frequenting Mount Pitt had so thinned their numbers, that they were no longer to be depended upon as a resource. The convicts, senseless and



improvident, not only destroyed the bird, its young, and its egg, but the hole in which it burrowed; a circumstance which ought most cautiously to have been guarded against; as nothing appeared more likely to make them forsake the island.

The stock in that settlement was plentiful; but from being fed chiefly on sow-thistle during the general deficiency of hard food, the animals looked ill, and were as badly tasted. The "Pitt," however, had taken from the island a great quantity of it, for which the owners had been repaid with many articles of comfort to which they had long been strangers.

The convicts, Governor King wrote, wore a very unhealthy cadaverous appearance; owing, it was supposed, not only to spare diet, but to the fatigue consequent on their so continually traversing the woods to Mount Pitt, by night, for the purpose of procuring some slender addition to their ration, instead of reposing after the labours of the day. One of these unfortunate people had been shot by a settler while in the act of robbing his farm; but neither this awful warning, nor any possible method which the Lieutenant-Governor had yet been able to devise, could prevent their depredations.

Governor King, having discovered that the island abounded with that valuable article lime-stone, was building a convenient house for his own residence, and turning his attention to the construction of permanent storehouses, barracks, and other necessary buildings.

The weather had been for some time very bad, much rain having fallen, accompanied with storms of wind, thunder, and lightning. In one of these storms the wreck of His Majesty's ship "Sirius" went to pieces and disappeared.

On board the "Atlantic" came sixty-two persons from Norfolk Island, among whom were several whose terms of transportation had expired; thirteen offenders; and nine marine settlers, who had given up the hoe and the spade, and returned to embrace once more a life to which they certainly were, from long habit, better adapted than to that of independent settlers. They gave up their estate, and returned to Sydney to enter as soldiers in the New South Wales corps.

The Deputy-Surveyor arrived in the "Atlantic," being sent by Mr. King to state to the Governor the situation of the settlers late belonging to the "Sirius," whose grounds had, on a careful survey, been found to intersect each other. They had been originally laid down without the assistance of proper instruments; and being situated on the side of the cascade



stream, which takes several windings in its course, the different allotments, being close together, naturally interfered with each other when they came to be carried back. The settlers themselves saw how disadvantageously they were situated, and how utterly impossible it was for everyone to possess a distinct allotment of sixty acres, unless they came to some agreement which had their mutual accommodation in view; but this, with an obstinacy proportioned to their ignorance, they all declined: as their grounds were marked out so would they keep them, not giving an inch in one place, though certain of possessing it with advantage in another. These people proved but indifferent settlers: sailors and soldiers, seldom bred in the habits of industry, but ill brooked the personal labour which they found was required from them day after day, and month after month. Men who, from their commencing the military life, had been accustomed to have their daily subsistence found them, were but ill calculated to procure it by the sweat of their brows, and must have felt great mortification in finding that without much bodily exertion they could not provide it at all. A few months' experience convinced them of the truth of these observations, and they grew discontented; as a proof of which, they wrote a letter to the Judge-Advocate, to be submitted to the Governor, stating, as a subject of complaint among other grievances, that the officers of the settlement bred stock for their own use, and requesting that they might be directed to discontinue that practice, and purchase stock of them.

Very few of the convicts at Norfolk Island, whose terms of transportation had expired, were found desirous of becoming permanent settlers; the sole object with the greater part of them appearing to be, that of taking ground for the purpose of raising by the sale of the produce a sum sufficient to enable them to pay for their passages to England. The settler to benefit that colony, the *bonâ fide* settler, who should be a man of some property, must go thither from England; he is not to be looked for among discharged soldiers, ship-wrecked seamen, or quondam convicts. Till such have arrived in New South Wales, the historian will have little to detail of plentiful harvests or well-cultivated lands; nor must he presume to decide on the capabilities of the country in question.

Governor King, finding, after trying every process that came within his knowledge for preparing and dressing the flax-plant, that unless some other means were devised, it never



would be brought to the perfection necessary to make the canvas produced from it an object of importance, either as an article of clothing for the convicts or for maritime purposes, proposed to the master of the "William and Ann," who intended touching at Dusky Bay in New Zealand, to procure him two natives of that country, if they could be prevailed on to embark with him, and promised him one hundred pounds if he succeeded; hoping, from their perfect knowledge of the flax-plant, and the success necessary to manufacture it into cloth, that he might one day render it a valuable and beneficial article to his colony: but the master of the ship never returned to Norfolk Island.

On the 3rd of October the "Britannia," which had quitted the cove on the last day of September, preparatory to her departure on a fishing voyage (a licence for which had been granted by the East-India Company for the space of three years), returned to the cove for the purpose of fitting for the Cape of Good Hope: the officers of the New South Wales corps having engaged the master to proceed thither, and return on their account with a freight of cattle, and such articles as were not to be found in the public store, but which would greatly tend to the comfort of themselves and their soldiers. The master was to receive £2,000 for the use of his ship; and eleven shares of £200 each were subscribed to purchase the stock and other articles. Previous to her departure the "Royal Admiral" East Indiaman anchored in the cove from England, whence she had sailed on the 30th of May. Her passage from the Cape of Good Hope was the most rapid that had ever been made, being only five weeks and three days from port to port. On board of this ship came stores and provisions for the colony, and one sergeant with twenty privates of the New South Wales corps; a person to be employed in the cultivation of the country; another as a master miller; and a third as a master carpenter; together with two hundred and eighty-nine male, and forty-seven female convicts. She brought in with her a fever, which had been much abated by the extreme attention paid by Captain Bond and his officers to cleanliness, that great preservative of health on board ships, and to providing those who were ill with comforts and necessaries beyond what were allowed for their use during the passage. Of three hundred male convicts which he received on board, ten only died, and one made his escape from the hospital at False Bay; in return for whom,



however, Captain Bond had brought on with him a male convict, who found means to get on shore from the "Pitt" when at that port in December last, and who had been confined by the Dutch at the Cape Town from her departure until this opportunity offered of sending him to Port Jackson.

By the "Royal Admiral" they had the satisfaction of hearing that the "Supply" armed tender made good her passage to England in somewhat less than five months. It was, however, matter of much concern to all who were acquainted with him, to learn, at the same time, that Captain Hunter, who sailed from this port in March, and who had anxiously desired to make a speedy passage, had been thirteen months performing it. His Majesty's ship "Gorgon" had been at the Cape of Good Hope, but had not arrived in England when the "Royal Admiral" left that country.

They were also informed, that the "Kitty" transport had sailed with provisions and a few convicts from England some weeks before Captain Bond; and that this gentleman had left at False Bay an American brig, freighted on speculation with provisions for the colony.

The sick, to the number of eighty, were immediately disembarked from the "Indiaman," and the remainder of her convicts were sent up to Parramatta and the adjoining settlement. At these places was to be performed the great labour of clearing and cultivating the country; and thither the Governor judged it necessary at once to send such convicts as should arrive in future, without permitting them to disembark at Sydney; which town (from the circumstance of its being the only place where shipping anchored) possessed all the evils and allurements of a sea-port of some standing, and from which, if once they got into huts, they would be with difficulty removed when wanted; they pleading the acquirement of comforts, of which, in fact, it would be painful though absolutely necessary to deprive them. At once to do away, therefore, the possibility of any attachment to that part of the colony, the Governor gave directions for their being immediately sent from the ship to the place of their future residence and employment; and, having no other expectation, they went with cheerfulness.

It had always been an object of the first consequence, that the people employed about the stores, if not free, should at least have been so situated as to have found it their interest to resist temptation. This had never hitherto been accomplished;



capital and other exemplary punishments did not effect it; the stores were constantly robbed, although carefully watched, and as well secured as bolts, locks, and iron fastenings could make them. The Governor, therefore, now adopted a plan which was suggested to him; and, discharging all the convicts employed at the provision-store, replaced them by others, to whom he promised, if they behaved well, absolute emancipation at the end of a certain number of years, to be computed from the dates of their respective arrivals in this country.

If anything could produce the integrity so much to be desired, this measure seemed the best calculated for the purpose; an interest was created superior to any reward that could have been held out, a certain salary, an increase of ration, or a greater proportion of clothing. To those who had no other prospect but that of passing their lives in this country, how cheering, how grateful must have been the hope of returning to their families at no very distant period, if not prevented by their own misconduct!

The "*Britannia*" sailed on the 24th of October for the Cape of Good Hope; Mr. Raven taking with him Governor Phillip's dispatches for England, in which was contained a specific demand for twelve months' provisions for the colony.

At Sydney and at Parramatta shops were opened for the sale of the articles of private trade brought out in the "*Royal Admiral*," and a licence was given for the sale of porter; but, under the cover of this, spirits found their way among the people, and much intoxication was the consequence. Several of the settlers, breaking out from the restraint to which they had been subject, conducted themselves with the greatest impropriety. The indulgence, which was intended by the Governor for their benefit, was most shamefully abused; and what he suffered them to purchase with a view to their future comfort, was retailed among themselves at a scandalous profit; several of the settlers' houses being at this time literally nothing else but porter-houses, where rioting and drunkenness prevailed as long as the means remained. It was much to be regretted, that these people were so blind to their own advantage; most of them sacrificing to the dissipation of an hour what would have afforded them long comfort and convenience, if reserved for refreshment after the fatigue of the day.

The only addition made to the weekly ration in consequence of the arrival of the "*Royal Admiral*" was an allowance of



six ounces of oil to each person; a large quantity having been put on board that ship, to be issued in lieu of butter; as an equivalent for which it would certainly have answered well, had it arrived in the state in which it was reported to have been put on board; but it grew rancid on the passage, and was in general made use of to burn, as a substitute for candle.

Towards the latter end of the month the convicts received a general serving of clothing, and other necessary articles. To each male were issued two frocks made of coarse and unsubstantial Osnaburghs, in which there were seldom found more than three weeks wear; two pairs of trousers made of the same slight materials as the frocks; one pair of yarn stockings; one hat; one pair of shoes; one pound of soap; and three needles; a quarter of a pound of thread, and one comb.

The females received each one cloth petticoat; one coarse shift; one pair of shoes; one pair of yarn stockings; one pound of soap; a quarter of a pound of thread; two ounces of pins; six needles; one thimble, and one pair of scissors.

These articles were supplied by commission; and Mr. Davison, the person employed by government, was limited in the price of each article, which was fixed too low to admit of his furnishing them of the quality absolutely necessary for people who were to labour in that country. The frocks and trousers were particularly complained of; for it was a well-known fact, that they were much oftener worn out within a fortnight than that they lasted three weeks.

The month closed with a circumstance that excited no small degree of concern in the settlement: Governor Phillip signified a determination of quitting his government, and returning to England in the "Atlantic." To this he was induced by perceiving that his health hourly grew worse. His Excellency had the satisfaction, at the moment when he came to this resolution, of seeing the public grounds wear every appearance of a productive harvest.





An Eastern View of Sydney, taken from a small prominence, nigh the new Barracks.







## CHAPTER X.

On the 1st of November the "Philadelphia" brigantine, Mr. Thomas Patrickson master, arrived at Port Jackson from Philadelphia. Lieutenant-Governor King, in his passage to Port Jackson in 1791, had seen Mr. Patrickson at the Cape of Good Hope, and suggested to him the advantage that might attend his taking a cargo to that country on speculation. On this hint Captain Patrickson repaired to Philadelphia; from which place he had sailed in the beginning of April, with a cargo consisting chiefly of American beef, wine, rum, gin, some tobacco, pitch, and tar.

The Governor directed the commissary to purchase such part of the "Philadelphia's" cargo as he thought was immediately wanting in the colony; and five hundred and sixty-nine barrels of American-cured beef, with twenty-seven barrels of pitch and tar, were taken into store; the expense of which amounted to £2,829 11s.

Notwithstanding the very long voyage which Captain Patrickson had had, his speculation did not prove very disadvantageous to him. Much of that part of his cargo which was not taken by the Government, was disposed of among the officers and others of the settlement; and the Governor hired his vessel to take provisions to Norfolk Island, giving him £150 for the run.

On the 3rd of the month three warrants of emancipation passed the seal of the territory; one of which was in favour of a man who, whatever might have been his conduct when at large in society, had in that country not only demeaned himself with strict propriety, but had rendered essential services to the colony—George Barrington. He came out in the "Active"; and had on his arrival been placed by the Governor in a situation at Toongabbe, which was likely to attract the envy and hatred of the convicts, in proportion as he might be vigilant and inflexible. He was first placed as a subordinate, and shortly after as a principal watchman; in which situation he was diligent, sober, and impartial; and had rendered himself so eminently serviceable, that the Governor resolved to draw him from the line of convicts; and, with the instrument of his



emancipation, he received a grant of thirty acres of land. He was afterwards sworn in a peace-officer. Here was not only a reward for past good conduct, but an incitement to a continuance of it; and Barrington found himself, through the Governor's liberality, though not so absolutely free as to return to England at his own pleasure, yet enjoying the immunities of a free man, a settler, and a civil officer, in whose integrity much confidence was placed.

On the 13th the "Royal Admiral" sailed for Canton. Of the private speculations taken out in that ship, they sold to the amount of £3,600 and left articles to be disposed of to the amount of £750 more.

On the 18th the "Kitty" transport anchored in the cove from England, after a circuitous passage of thirty-three weeks, round by Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope. She had on board when she first sailed thirty female and ten male convicts; but being obliged to put back to Spithead, eight of her ten male convicts found means to make their escape.

Her cargo was found to have suffered considerably by the bad weather which she had experienced; the flour in particular, an article which could at no time bear any diminution in that country, was much damaged. The convicts had for a long time been nearly as much distressed for utensils to dress their provisions, as they had been for the provisions to dress; and they had now the mortification to find, that of the small supply of iron pots which had been put on board, a great part were either broken or cracked, having been literally stowed among the provision casks in the hold.

There had arrived in this ship three thousand eight hundred and seventy ounces of silver, in dollars. This remittance was sent out for the purpose of paying such sums as were due to the different artificers who had been employed in that country, as well as the superintendents, who had experienced much inconvenience from not receiving their salaries on the spot; and indeed the want of public money had been greatly felt by everyone in the colony. In this vessel a naval agent had been sent out, to prevent delays on the passage, and to see that the convicts were not defrauded or oppressed; and likewise a medical gentleman for the express purpose of attending to such convicts as might be ill during the voyage; so extremely solicitous were the members of administration to guard against the evils which had befallen these unfortunate people in former passages.



A brick hospital, consisting of two wards, was finished during the month of November, and the sick removed to it. The spot for this building was at some distance from the principal street of the town, and convenient to the water; and, to prevent any improper communication with other convicts, a space was to be inclosed and paled in round the hospital, in which the sick would have every necessary benefit from air and exercise. At the other settlement they had begun to reap the wheat which had been sown in April; and for want of a granary at that place it was put into stacks. From its not being immediately threshed out, there was no knowing with certainty what the produce of it was; but it had every appearance of turning out well. The ear was long and full, and the straw remarkably good.

On the 3rd of December the Governor, as one of his last acts in the settlement, ordered one pound of flour to be added to the weekly ration, making three pounds of that article.

On the 7th the "Philadelphia" sailed for Norfolk Island.

The detachment of marines being embarked, Governor Phillip quitted the charge with which he had been instructed by his sovereign, and in the execution of which he had manifested a zeal and perseverance that alone could have enabled him to surmount the natural and artificial obstacles which the country and its inhabitants had thrown in his way.

The colony had now been established within a few weeks of five years; and a review of what had been done in cultivation under His Excellency's direction in that time cannot more properly be introduced than at the close of his government.

An accurate survey of the whole ground in cultivation, both on account of the crown, and in the possession of individuals, had been taken by the surveyor-general, and transmitted to England by that ship; and from the return which he then made, the following particulars were extracted:

Ground in cultivation, the 16th October, 1792:—

				Acres.
In wheat	..	..	..	208 $\frac{1}{2}$
In barley	..	..	..	24 $\frac{1}{4}$
In maize	..	..	..	1186 $\frac{1}{2}$
Garden ground	..	..	..	121 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ground cleared of timber	..	..	..	162 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total number of acres				1703 $\frac{1}{4}$



At this time the quantity of land which had passed to settlers in the territory under the seal of the colony, amounted to 3,470 acres; of which quantity 470 were in cultivation, and the timber cleared from 100 more, ready for sowing; which, when it is considered that many of the settlers had begun to cultivate since 1791, and compared with the public ground in cultivation, will prove that most of them had not been idle; indeed, on its being hinted to some of them that they had not always been so diligent when labouring for the whole—"We are now working for ourselves," was the reply. One material good was, however, to be expected from a tract of land of that extent being cultivated by individuals: if at any time an accident should happen to the crop on the public ground, they might be a resource, though an inconsiderable one. Fortunately, no misfortune of that nature had ever yet fallen upon the colony; though it had been, at the beginning of December, very near experiencing a calamity that would have blasted all the prospects of the next season, and in one moment have rendered ineffectual the labour of many hands and of many months. Two days after the wheat had been reaped, and got off the ground at Toongabbe, the whole of the stubble was burnt. The day on which this happened had been unusually hot, and the country was everywhere on fire. Had this befallen them while the wheat was on the ground, nothing could have prevented the whole from being destroyed. From this circumstance, however, one good resulted; precautions against a similar accident were immediately taken, by clearing the timber for a certain distance round the cultivated land.

The stock belonging to the public was kept at Parramatta. It consisted of three bulls, two bull-calves, fifteen cows, three calves, five stallions, six mares, one hundred and five sheep, and forty-three hogs. Of the sheep the Governor gave to each married settler one ewe for the purpose of breeding; and to others he gave such female goats as could be spared.

His Excellency, at embarking on board the "*Atlantic*," was received near the wharf where his boat was lying, by Major Grose, at the head of the New South Wales corps, who paid him as he passed the honours due to his rank and situation in the colony. The "*Atlantic*" sailed the next morning, being the 11th of December.

With the Governor, embarked, voluntarily and cheerfully, two natives of the country which he was about to quit, Bennilong and Yem-mer-ra-wan-nie, two men who were much



attached to his person, and who withstood at the moment of their departure the united distress of their wives, and the dismal lamentations of their friends, to accompany him to England; a place which they well knew was a great distance from them.

On board the "Atlantic" likewise went various specimens of the natural productions of the country, timber, plants, animals, and birds. Among the animals were four fine kangaroos, and several native dogs.

A safe and speedy passage to this ship was the general wish, not only on account of the Governor, whose health and constitution, already much impaired, might suffer greatly by the fatigues of a protracted voyage; but that the information of which His Excellency was in possession respecting these settlements, from their establishment to the moment of his quitting them, might as quickly as possible be laid before administration.

The government of the colony now devolved, by His Majesty's letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, upon the Lieutenant-Governor Major Francis Grose, of the New South Wales corps. At his taking upon himself the government, on which occasion the usual oaths were administered by the Judge-Advocate, he gave out the following order, regulating the mode of carrying on the duty at Parramatta.

"All orders given by the Captain who commands at Parramatta respecting the convicts stationed there, are to be obeyed; and all complaints or reports that would be made to the Lieutenant-Governor when present, are in his absence to be communicated to Captain Foveaux, or such other captain as may be doing duty with the detachment."

This was substituting the military for the civil officer, which before this period had never been the case; the military power having hitherto been considered as a requisite only for the protection of the stores, and the discharge of such duties as belonged to their profession, without any share in the direction of the colony; the commanding officer of the corps or regiment serving in the territory excepted, who held likewise the civil appointment of Lieutenant-Governor. Similar regulations took place at Sydney; and in a few days after they were enforced by another order, which directed, "that all enquiries by the civil magistrates were in future to be dispensed with, until the Lieutenant-Governor had given directions on the subject; and the convicts were on no account to be punished but by his particular order."



At Sydney, it had been usual for the magistrates to take examinations, and make enquiry into the offences, either weekly, or as occasion required, and to order such punishment as they thought necessary, always reporting their proceedings to the chief authority.

It must be noticed, that at this time the civil magistrates in the colony consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Judge-Advocate, who were Justices of the Peace by virtue of their respective commissions; the Rev. Mr. Johnson; Augustus Alt, and Richard Atkins, Esquires, who had been sworn in as magistrates by authority of the Governor.

As no inconvenience had ever been experienced in the mode which was practised of conducting the business of the settlement, the necessity or cause for these alterations was not directly obvious; and could not be accounted for from any other motive, than that preference which a military man might be supposed to give to carrying on the service by means of his own officers, rather than by any other.

On the 17th a distinction was made for the first time in the ration, the Commissary being directed to issue to the civil and military departments, including superintendents, watchmen, overseers, and settlers from the marines, six pounds of flour, and but two of rice per week, instead of three pounds of flour and five of rice, which was the allowance of the convicts. This distinction was intended to be discontinued whenever the full ration could be served.

The stock which had been distributed among the settlers by Governor Phillip for the purpose of breeding from, appeared to have been thrown away upon them when viewed as a breeding-stock for settlers. No sooner was the "Atlantic" out of sight, then the major part of them were offered for sale; and there was little doubt, that had they not been bought by the officers, in a very few weeks most of them would have been destroyed. By this conduct, as far as their individual benefit was concerned, they had put it out of their power to reap the advantage which the Governor intended by his bounty to them; but by this means the stock was saved, and had fallen into hands that certainly would not wantonly destroy it. There were some among the settlers who had exchanged their sheep for goats; but in general they were so ignorant and improvident as to accept of nothing but spirits as the price of what, if properly used, would have been to them invaluable.



About this time they were visited by the "Hope," an American ship from Rhode Island, with a small cargo of provisions and spirits for sale. The master declared that his putting into the harbour was for the purpose of procuring wood and water; thus making the sale of his cargo appear to be but a secondary object with him.

As the colony had not yet seen the day when it could have independently said, "We are not in want of provisions; procure your wood and water, and go your way;" the Lieutenant-Governor directed the Commissary to purchase such part of his cargo as the colony stood in need of; and two hundred barrels of American-cured beef, at four pounds per barrel; eighty barrels of pork, at four pounds ten shillings per barrel; forty-four barrels of flour, at two pounds per barrel; and seven thousand six hundred gallons of (raw American) spirits, at four shillings and sixpence per gallon, were purchased.

The master of this vessel had observed, when about the South Cape of this country, that the weather was clear; but after passing the latitude of the Maria Islands, he found it close, hazy, and heated, and having every appearance of thick smoke. About this time they had at Port Jackson much the same kind of weather; and the excessive heats which at other times were experienced at that settlement, had also been noticed by those at sea when at some distance from land.

A few days after the arrival of the "Hope," the "Chesterfield" whaler anchored in the Cove. The master said that he had touched at Kerguelen's Land, where, some other ship having recently preceded him, (which he judged from finding several sea-elephants dead on the beach, and a club which is used in killing them,) he remained but a short time, having very bad weather. He supposed the ship which preceded him, to have been the first that had visited those desolate islands since Captain Cook had been there, as he found the fragments of the bottle in which that officer had deposited a memorial of his having examined them. This was conjecture, and might be erroneous, as the mere pieces of the bottle afforded no proof that it had been recently broken.

This gentleman's vessel was in such want of repair, as to make it matter of wonder how she had swam so far, particularly as her complaints appeared to have been of long standing.

During this month, two warrants of emancipation were granted, together with twenty-five acres of land to Ensign Cummings, of the New South Wales corps. In the instructions



for granting lands in that country, no mention of officers had yet been made; it was, however, fairly presumed, that the officers could not be intended to be precluded from the participation of any advantages which the crown might have to bestow in the settlements; particularly as the greatest in its gift, the free possession of land, was held out to people who had forfeited their lives before they were sent into that country.

Among the regulations which took place at Sydney, must be noticed the dispensing with the officer's guard which had always mounted there, and the changing the hours of labour. The convicts had more time given to them, for the purpose not only of avoiding the heat of the day, but of making themselves comfortable at home. They were directed to work from five in the morning until nine; rest until four in the afternoon, and then labour until sunset.

The weather during December had been extremely hot. On the 5th the wind blew strong from the northward of west; and, to add to this intense heat of the atmosphere, the country was everywhere on fire. At Sydney, the grass at the back of the hill on the west side of the cove, having either caught or been set on fire by the natives, the flames, aided by the wind which at that time blew violently, spread and raged with incredible fury. One house was burnt down; several gardens with their fences were destroyed, and the whole face of the hill was on fire, threatening every thatched hut with destruction. The conflagration was, with much difficulty, (notwithstanding the exertions of the military,) got under, after some time, and prevented from doing any further mischief. At different times during this uncomfortable day distant thunder was heard, the air darkened, and some few drops of rain fell. The apparent danger from the fires, drew all persons out of their houses; and on going into the parching air, it was scarcely possible to breathe; the heat was insupportable; and vegetation seemed to suffer much, the leaves of many culinary plants being reduced to powder. The thermometer in the shade rose above one hundred degrees. Some rain falling towards evening, this excessive heat abated.

At Parramatta and Toongabbe, also, the heat was extreme; the country there too was everywhere in flames. One settler was a great sufferer. The fire had spread to his farm; but, by the efforts of his people and neighbours was got under, and its progress supposed to be effectually checked, when an unlucky spark from a tree, which had been on fire to the



topmost branch, flying upon the thatch of the hut where his people lived, it blazed out, and the hut, with all the out-buildings, and thirty bushels of wheat just got into a stack, were in a few minutes destroyed: the erecting of the hut and out-houses had cost £15 a short time before. We are prepared for the smile which will follow the detail of this loss; a house, with out-houses which cost fifteen pounds, and thirty bushels of wheat! to be deemed of sufficient consequence to find a place in the history of a country. Recollect, however, gentle reader, that country was not Great Britain; it was the infant, the distressed settlement of Port Jackson; and circumstances are great or small only by comparison. The man who lost his few pounds, his little all in New South Wales, deplored it as much as he who in a happier land had lost his thousands. This poor man was made a beggar by his calamity; and the man of wealth could not have suffered more.

There died between the 1st of January and 31st of December, 1792, two of the civil department, six soldiers, four hundred and eighteen male convicts, eighteen female convicts, and twenty-nine children; one male convict was executed; and three were lost in the woods: making on the whole a decrease of four hundred and eighty-two persons.

The price of stock, grain, and other articles, remained much the same as at the close of the former year; that of fish and vegetables varied from day to day; spirits in exchange were estimated at from twelve to twenty shillings per gallon; porter was sold from nine to ten pounds per hogshead, or from one shilling to one shilling and three-pence per quart.

It did not appear that the settlers had brought any new wheat or other grain to market.

Divine service was now performed at six o'clock in the morning. For want of a building dedicated to that purpose, many inconveniences were suffered, as well by the clergyman as by those who attended him. The Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, did not require the ceremony to be performed more than once a day; and that the health of the convicts might not be injured from the heat of the sun, which at that season of the year was excessive, he directed the church call to be beat at a quarter before six in the morning. The overseers were enjoined to be particularly careful to collect as many of their gangs to attend Mr. Johnson, as could conveniently be brought together; for, although it was not wished that the huts should be left without proper persons to look after them, it was



nevertheless expected that no idle excuse should keep the convicts from attending divine service.

On the 10th of January, 1793, the "Hope" sailed for Canton. On the 15th, the signal which never failed to give satisfaction in the colony was made at the South Head, and several boats went down; but when night closed, it was only known that a ship was off. A large fire, for the information of the stranger was made, and at ten the following morning the "Bellona" reached the Cove from England, whence she had sailed on the 8th of August, having on board a cargo of stores and provisions for the colony; seventeen female convicts; five settlers and their families; a person engaged as a master millwright, at a salary of £100 per annum, and a master blacksmith. The Quaker families which had been expected for some time had engaged to take their passage in the "Bellona"; but it was said that they had been diverted from their purpose by some misrepresentations which had been made to them respecting the country.

Among other articles by the "Bellona," five pipes of port wine and a quantity of rum were received, being consigned to the Governor, for the purpose of being sold to the officers of the civil and military establishments at prime cost; and three thousand pounds of tobacco, for the use of the soldiers of the garrison, and others.

The shameful impositions which had been practised by many who had carried out articles for sale in the colony, and the advantage which in too many instances had been taken of their necessities, had been properly stated at home, and this measure had been adopted by Government for their accommodation. The wine was immediately distributed; coming to the officers, after every expense, at £19 10s. per hogshead, and the rum at five shillings per gallon. The tobacco was likely to remain for some time undisposed of, as a quantity had been before taken to the settlement, and was selling at a lower price than could be taken for that imported by this ship; and tobacco had formed a material article of the different investments in the "Britannia."

They learned by the "Bellona," that His Majesty's ship "Gorgon," arrived at Spithead on the 19th of June. In her passage, which she had made by Cape Horn, on the 18th of February, being in the latitude of 31° 30' S. and longitude 34° 7' W. variation 13° 27' E. she fell in with twenty-nine islands of ice. When the ship reached within three or four miles of



the first of these, they observed one compact body, without the smallest appearance of any opening, bearing from N.N.E. to W.N.W. and which, with some difficulty, being embayed\*, they were enabled to clear, by hauling the ship from N. to W.S.W. This was done at ten in the forenoon; they did not reach the extreme western point of the ice until five in the evening; and from the rate at which the ship sailed, from her coming up with the first island of ice, until she cleared the north-west point of the field above mentioned, it was computed that she had run full twenty leagues.

It must be remarked, that the "Sirius," in the month of December, 1788, saw several islands of ice in nearly the same latitude and longitude.

At the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Parker had met with Captain Edwards of the "Pandora," who delivered to him Mary, the widow of Bryant, (who escaped to Timor in the fishing cutter,) with one of the children, and only four of the male convicts who accompanied Bryant in his flight. Bryant died at Batavia, with the other child, and two of his companions. On their arrival in England, the story of their sufferings in the boat excited much compassion; and, on being brought up to the bar of the Old Bailey, they were ordered by the Court to remain in Newgate until the period of their original sentence of transportation should expire, there to finish their unsuccessful attempts to regain their liberty.

On the landing of the "Bellona's" cargo, much of it was found to be damaged; the ship had been overloaded, and had met with very boisterous weather on her passage. This practice of crowding too much into one ship, had in many instances been very prejudicial to the colony; in the present instance, of the Russia Duck (which Government had ordered for the frocks and trousers of the convicts, instead of the Osnaburgs so much complained of,) sixty-eight bales, containing thirteen thousand one hundred and forty-eight yards, and which was most excellent of its kind, were damaged; sixty-nine casks of flour also were found to be much injured. Of seventy-six hogsheads of molasses, eleven hundred and seventy-two gallons were found to have leaked out; one hundred and ninety-eight gallons of wine, and seventy-nine gallons of rum were deficient, owing to improper stowage; three hundred and thirty-five

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\*When near this great body of ice, the thermometer was as low as thirty-six degrees; and it rose from that point, as he drew off, to forty degrees.



hammocks, thirteen rugs, five hundred and twenty-seven yards of brown cloths, and one case of stationery, were rendered totally unfit for use. Of these articles, there was not one which in its proper state would not have been most valuable; and when the expense attending their conveyance, the inconvenience that must be felt for the want of every damaged article, and the impossibility of getting them replaced for a length of time were considered it was difficult to ascertain their precise value.

Among the occurrences of the month, was the untimely end of two women and a child. These unfortunate people had been drinking with others at Sydney, and were proceeding to Parramatta, in a boat with Williams, the husband of one of the women, when the boat upset, and the man alone was saved, though he had snatched his infant from the wretched mother's grasp before she finally sank, and brought it to shore; but for want of immediate medical aid, it was soon past the troubles in which a lengthened date would most probably have seen it involved; for its parents had been noted for their depravity; they had been rioting and fighting with each other the moment before they got into the boat; and it was said, that the woman had imprecated every evil to befall her and the infant which she carried about her (being six months gone with child), if she accompanied her husband to Parramatta. The bodies of these two unfortunate women were found a few days afterwards, when the wretched unfeeling husband buried his wife and child within a very few feet of his own door. The profligacy of this man, indeed, manifested itself in a strange manner: a short time after he had thus buried his wife, he was seen sitting at his door, with a bottle of rum in his hand, and actually drinking one glass and pouring another on her grave until it was emptied, prefacing every libation, by declaring how well she had loved it during her life. He appeared to be in a state of insanity, as this anecdote certainly testifies; but the melancholy fate of those two beings who ought to have been so dear to him, did not appear to have sat heavy on his heart.

The Lieutenant-Governor's presence being required at Sydney, the head-quarters of his regiment, and the seat of government, he deputed his trust at Parramatta to one of the captains of his corps, who was at all times to reside there, that he might be ready to attend to the various applications from settlers, and business which hourly occurred.



The Lieutenant-Governor proposing to open and cultivate the ground commonly known by the name of Kangaroo ground, situate to the westward of the town of Sydney, between that settlement and Parramatta, a gang of convicts was sent from the latter place for that purpose. The soil here was much better for agriculture than that immediately adjacent to the town of Sydney, and the ground lay well for cultivation; but it had hitherto been neglected, from its being deficient in that grand essential water, on which account Parramatta had been preferred to it. The eligibility of cultivating it, was now, however, going to be tried; and permission having been received by the "Bellona" to grant lands to those officers who might desire it, provided the situations of the allotments were such as might be advantageous to *bonâ fide* settlers hereafter (if they ever should fall into such hands), several officers chose this as the spot which they would cultivate; and allotments of one hundred acres each, were marked out for the clergyman (who, to obtain a grant there, relinquished his right to the land allotted for the minister), for the principal surgeon, and two officers of the corps.

Early in February, the settlers who came out in the "Bellona" took possession of their grounds. Being all free people, one convict excepted, who was allowed to settle with them; they gave the appellation of "Liberty Plains" to the district in which their farms were situated. The conditions under which they engaged to settle were, "To have their passages provided by the Government\*: an assortment of tools and implements to be furnished them from the public stores; to be supplied with two years' provisions; their lands to be granted free of expense; the service of convicts also to be assigned them, and these were likewise to have two years' provisions, and one year's clothing."

Many more officers availed themselves of the assent given by Government to their occupying lands, and fixed some at Parramatta, and others in different parts of the harbour. They began their settlements in high spirits; the necessary tools and implements of husbandry were furnished to them from the stores; and they were allowed each the use of ten convicts. From their exertions the Lieutenant-Governor was sanguine in his hopes of being able to increase considerably

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\*Government paid for each person above ten years of age, the sum of eight pounds eight shillings; and allowed one shilling per diem for victualling them, and sixpence per diem for everyone under that age.



the cultivation of the country; they appeared, indeed, to enter vigorously into his views; and not being restrained from paying for labour with spirits, they got a great deal of work done at their several farms (on those days when the convicts did not work for the public), by hiring the different gangs; the great labour of burning the timber after it was cut down, requiring some such extra aid.

On Monday the 25th, the "Shah Hormuzear," of four hundred tons burthen, arrived from Calcutta, commanded by Mr. Bampton, who had embarked some property on a private speculation. He had on board, when he sailed, one bull, twenty-four cows, two hundred and twenty sheep, one hundred and thirty goats, five horses, and six asses; together with a quantity of beef, flour, rice, wheat, gram, paddy, and sugar; a few pipes of wine, some flat iron, and copper sufficient for the sloop's bottom which had been received in frame by the "Pitt"; a large quantity of spirits, and some canvas. In the article of stock, however, Mr. Bampton had been unfortunate. His cattle died; of the sheep more than half perished; one horse and three asses died; and very few of the goats survived the voyage, though by no means a long one, having been performed in eight weeks, and in good weather. This mortality evidently did not proceed from any want of proper care, but was to be ascribed to their having been embarked immediately on being taken from the fields, and consequently wanting that stamina which a sea voyage required. The settlement not yet being in possession of that plenty, which would have warranted the rejecting of a cargo of provisions, particularly when brought on speculation, this was purchased, although not immediately wanted; but it was considered that the hour of distress might again arrive, and occasion might occur that would excite a wish, perhaps in vain, for a cargo of provisions from Bengal. In addition to these reasons, it must be remarked, that the different articles which were purchased were of the best quality, and offered on reasonable terms.

There had arrived in the "Chesterfield" a person who was formerly a convict, and who had been allowed to quit the country in the "Admiral Barrington," which vessel he had left, and embarked at the Cape with Mr. Alt, in his ship, by which means he returned back to the settlement of Sydney, where he circulated a report, that several of the convicts who had got on board of these two ships, had been landed by order of the masters at an island which they met with in their passage



to Batavia, inhabited indeed, but by savages; and that those who remained experienced such inhuman treatment, that they were glad to run away from them at the first port where any civilised people were to be found. He was himself among this number, and now declared that he was ready to make oath to the truth of his relation. If there was any truth in his account, and the masters of these ships did actually turn any people on shore in the manner already described, it was more than probable that an act of such apparent cruelty had been occasioned by some attempt of the convicts to take the ships from them; and the numbers which were supposed to have been on board rather justified the supposition. Captain Manning, of the "Pitt," who had taken twenty men and nine women from the settlement, found them so useless and troublesome, that he was very glad to leave the greatest part of them at Batavia, and regretted ever having received them on board. When these circumstances should be made public, it was thought that the masters of ships would not in future be so desirous of recruiting their ships' companies from among the inhabitants of that colony.

On the 13th of March, a Spanish officer arrived at the Governor's house, with information that two ships of his country had anchored in the lower part of the harbour. These proved to be the vessels of whose expected arrival intelligence had been received from England in the year 1790, and to whom it was recommended that every attention should be paid. They were named the "Descubierta" and "Atrevida" (the Discovery and Intrepid); the former commanded by Don Alexandro Malaspina, with a broad pendant as the commander of the expedition, and the latter by Don José de Bustamante y Guerra. They had been three years and a half from Europe on a voyage of discovery and information; and were now arrived from Manila, after a passage of ninety-six days; touching in their way to Sydney at Dusky Bay in New Zealand, which they had left about a fortnight.

On their going up, they anchored just abreast of the two points which formed Sydney Cove, declining to salute, as it was not in the power of the Governor to return it. These ships were of three hundred and five tons burden each, and were built for the particular voyage on which they were sent. Great care was observable in their construction, both as to the strength of the vessels, the accommodation of the officers, and the equipage. They were well manned, and had, beside the officers



customary in kings' ships, a botanist and a limner on board each vessel.

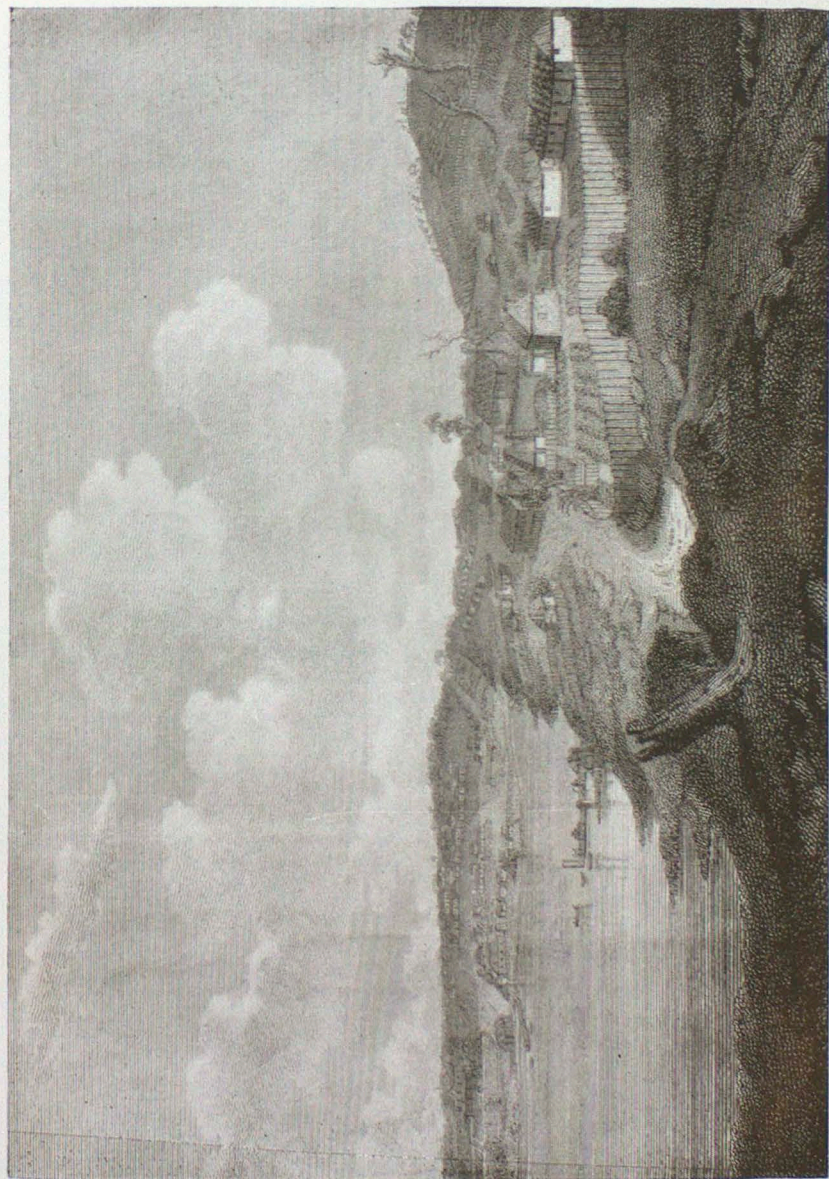
They had visited all the Spanish possessions in South America and other parts of the world, ascertaining with precision their boundaries and situations; gaining much information respecting their customs and manners, their importance with regard to the mother-country, and their various productions commercial, agricultural, botanical, and mineral. For all which purposes the officers on board appeared to have been selected with the happiest success. They most forcibly reminded the gentlemen of the colony of the unfortunate Count de la Pérouse and his followers, of whom the Spaniards had only heard that they were no more; and for whose destiny they expressed a feeling arising from their having traversed the ocean in the same pursuits, and followed in the same path. Equally sincere and polite as Count de la Pérouse, the Spanish Commodore paid tribute to the abilities and memory of our circumnavigator Cook, in whose steps the Chevalier Malaspina, who was an Italian Marquis and a Knight of Malta, declared it was a pleasure to follow, as it left him nothing to attend to, but to remark the accuracy of his observations. They lost at the island of Luconia, Don Antonia Pineda, a colonel of the Spanish guards, who was charged with that department of the expedition which respected the natural history of the places that they visited. They spoke of him in very high terms as a man of science and a gentleman.

Having requested to erect an observatory, they chose the point of the cove on which a hut had been built for Bennillong, making use of the hut to secure their instruments. They did not profess to be in want of much assistance; but such as they did require was directed to be furnished them without any expense; it was indeed too inconsiderable to become an object of charge.

The arrival of these strangers, together with that of the ship from Bengal, gave a pleasant diversity to the dull routine that commonly prevailed in the town of Sydney, everyone striving to make their abode among them as cheerful as possible, and to convince them, that though severed from the mother-country, and residing in woods and among savages, they had not forgotten the hospitalities due to a stranger.

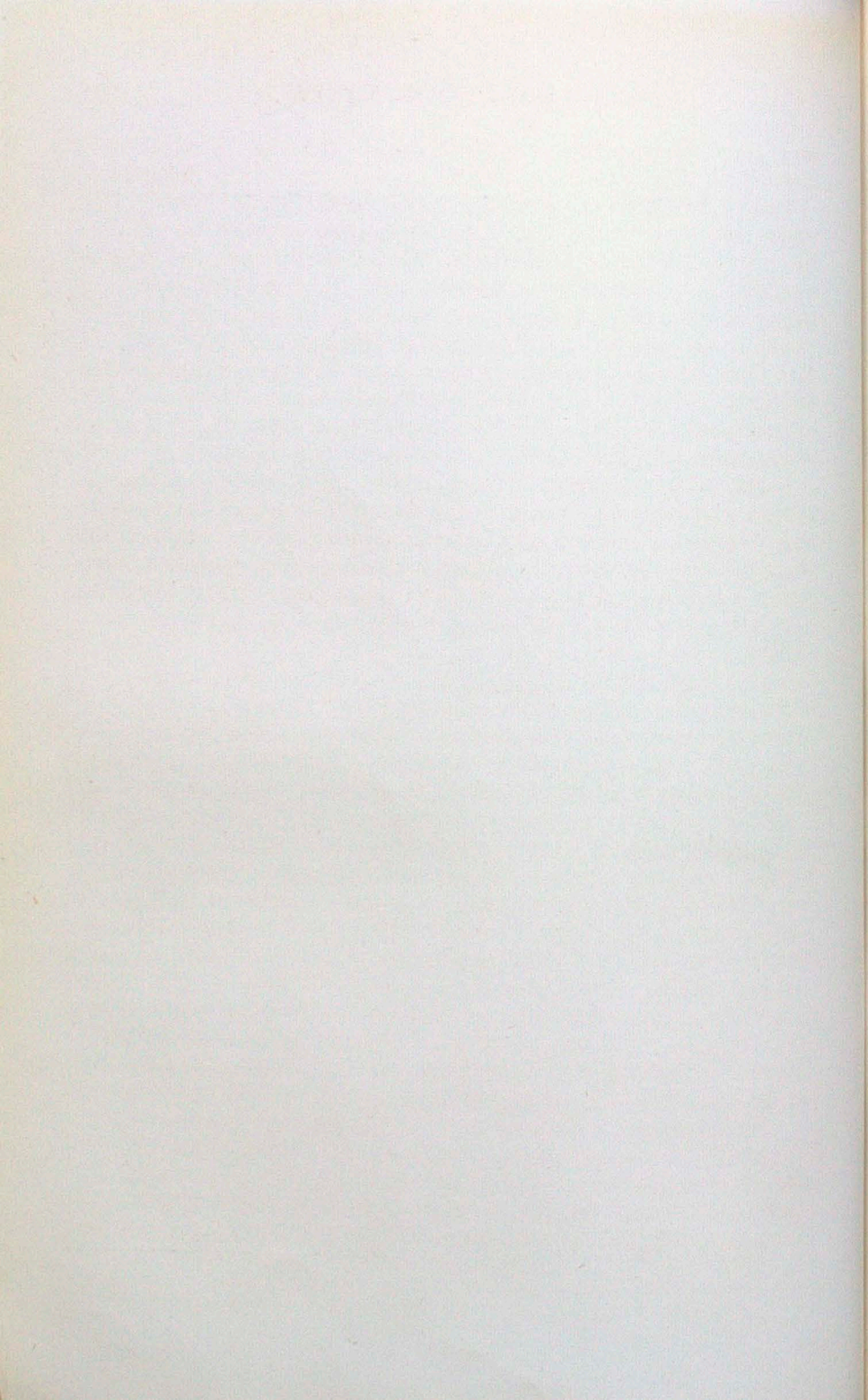
On the 21st, the "Kitty" returned from Norfolk Island. Governor King had sent back in her a number of free people





A Direct South View of the Town of Sydney, taken from the brow of the hill leading to the flagstaff.







and convicts, having been desired to get rid of any such characters as might be dangerous or troublesome to him.

This gentleman wrote very favourably of the settlement under his command. The crops had been so abundant as to insure him a sufficiency of wheat and maize for the next twelve months. The inhabitants were healthy, and the behaviour of the convicts had in general merited commendation.

Limestone having been found in great abundance, enabled Mr. King to erect buildings with more extent and security than had hitherto been done in New South Wales: several sacks of this useful article were now imported in the "Kitty" with a quantity of plank.

Eight of the marine settlers, whose grounds, on extending the lines of their allotments, were found to intersect each other, and who had declined such accommodation as Governor King thought it proper to offer them, had resigned their farms, and preferred returning to their former profession.

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## CHAPTER XI.

The Spanish officers having nearly completed the astronomical observations which the Commodore thought it necessary to make in that port, that officer signified his intention of shortly putting to sea on the further prosecution of the instructions and orders which he had received from his court. Previous to their departure, however, the Lieutenant-Governor, with the officers of the settlement and of the corps, were entertained first on board the "*Decuvierta*," and the next day on board the "*Atrevida*," the Lieutenant-Governor being each day received with a salute of nine guns, with a Spanish flag hoisted on the foretop-mast-head, being the compliment that is paid in the Spanish service to a Lieutenant-General. The dinner was prepared and served up after their own custom, and bore every appearance of having been furnished from a plentiful market\*. The healths of their respective sovereigns, being united in one wish, were drunk with every token of approbation, under a discharge of cannon; and "*Prosperity to the British Colonies in New South Wales*," concluded the ceremonials of each day.

The Commodore presented the Lieutenant-Governor with two drawings of Sydney and Parramatta, done in Indian ink, by F. Brambila; together with a copy of the astronomical observations which had been made at the observatory, and at Parramatta. From these it appeared, that the longitude of the observatory which they had erected at the Point, deduced from forty-two sets of distances of the sun and moon, taken on the morning of the 2nd of April, was  $151^{\circ} 18' 8''$  E. from Greenwich, and the latitude  $33^{\circ} 51' 28''$  S. The latitude of the Governor's house from Parramatta was  $33^{\circ} 48'$  S.; and the distance west from the observatory about nineteen miles.

The Commodore left a packet with dispatches for the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, to be forwarded by the first ship which should sail for England; and on the 12th both ships sailed. Their future route was never exactly spoken of by them; but from what the officers occasionally threw out, it

\*A small cow from Monterey was sacrificed on the occasion.



appeared that they expected to be in Europe in about fourteen months from their departure. They spoke of visiting the Society and Friendly Islands, and of proceeding again to the coast of South America.

As it had been the general wish of the gentlemen of the settlement to render the residence of the strangers, while among them, as pleasant as their situation would allow, they received with great satisfaction the expressions of regret which they testified at their departure; a regret that was at least equal on the part of those to whom it was professed. Their society was very small; they could not therefore but sensibly feel the loss of these gentlemen, who united to so much scientific knowledge those qualities of the heart which render men estimable in society; and the names of Malaspina, Bustamante, Tova, Espinosa, Concha, Cevallos, Murphy, Robredo, Quintano, Viona, Novales, Pineda, Bauza, Heeneke, Nee Ravenet, and Brambila, were not likely to be soon forgotten by the officers of Sydney. During their stay the greatest harmony subsisted between the seamen of the two ships and their people, the latter in but few instances exercising their nimble-fingered talents among them; such, however, as did choose to hazard a display, and were detected, received severe punishment.

A few days before the departure of these ships the "Chesterfield" returned from Norfolk Island. She had anchored for some days in Cascade Bay, where Governor King had constructed a wharf, and had hopes of making the landing more convenient than could ever be practicable at Sydney Bay. This was truly a desideratum, as few ships had gone to this island without having, in the course of their stay, either been blown off, or been in some danger on the shore.

The master of the "Shah Hormuzear" having laid before the Lieutenant-Governor some proposals for conveying cattle to that country, they were taken into consideration; and in a few days a contract was entered into between Mr. Bampton on his own part, and Major Grose on the part of the Crown; wherein it was covenanted, that Mr. Bampton should freight, at some port in India, a ship with one hundred head of large draught cattle; one hundred and fifty tons of the best provision rice, and one hundred and fifty tons of the best dhol, both articles to be equal in quality to samples then produced; and one hundred tons of the best Irish-cured beef or pork; or, in lieu of the salt provisions, fifty tons of rice. For the cattle, Mr. Bampton was to receive at the rate of thirty-five pounds sterling per



head for all that should land in a merchantable condition in the colony; for the rice, twenty-six pounds sterling, and for the dholl, eighteen pounds sterling for every merchantable ton which should be landed; and lastly, fourpence halfpenny per pound for the salt provisions. The master was bound in one thousand five hundred pounds penalty to fulfil these conditions.

On the 20th the "Dædalus" storeship, from the north-west coast of America, arrived in Sydney Cove. The "Dædalus" left England with a cargo of provisions and stores, consisting chiefly of articles of traffic, for the use of the vessels under the command of Captain Vancouver, whom she joined at Nootka Sound, on the north-west coast of America; and it was designed that she should, after delivering her cargo, be dispatched to that colony with such stock as she might be able to procure from the different islands whereat she might touch, and be afterwards employed as the service might require, should Captain Vancouver not make any application for her return; which was thought probable, as well as that he might require some assistance from the colony.

Captain Vancouver, after taking out as much of the cargo as could be received on board the vessels under his command, dispatched her according to his order, although not so early as he could have wished, owing to particular circumstances; and he was now obliged to send with her a requisition for the remainder of the provisions and stores being returned to him, together with a certainty of provisions from the colony; the whole to be dispatched from thence so as to join him, either at Nootka or some of the Sandwich Islands, in the month of October following.

Out of six bulls, twelve cows, six rams, eight ewes, and one hundred hogs, which the "Dædalus" had on board, four sheep and about eighty hogs only survived the voyage, which was again imputed to their being taken from grass. The hogs were in general much reduced, though apparently of a very fine breed. They had been brought from Otaheite.

The "Dædalus" having touched at the northernmost island of New Zealand, Lieutenant Hanson brought away with him two natives of that country, according to directions which he had received, for the purpose of instructing the settlers at Norfolk Island in the manufacture of the flax-plant. They were both young men, and were sent in the "Shah Hormuzear" to that place.



Captain Vancouver transmitted by Lieutenant Hanson a chart, and drawings of a spacious harbour, which he discovered on the southernmost coast of New South Wales, and which he named King George the Third's Sound. Its situation was without the line prescribed as the boundary of the British possessions in that country, being in the latitude of  $35^{\circ} 05' 30''$  South, and longitude  $118^{\circ} 34' 0''$  east. He also sent an account of the discovery of a dangerous cluster of rocks, which he named the Snares; the largest of these was about a league in circuit, and lay in latitude  $48^{\circ} 03'$  S. and longitude  $166^{\circ} 20'$  east, bearing from the south end of New Zealand S.  $40^{\circ}$  W. true, twenty leagues distant, and from the southermost part of the Traps (rocks discovered by Captain Cook) S.  $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  W. true, twenty leagues distant. The largest of these rocks, which was the highest and the north-easternmost, might be seen in clear weather about eight or nine leagues. The whole cluster was composed of seven barren rocks, extending in a direction about N.  $70^{\circ}$  E. and S.  $70^{\circ}$  W. true, occupying the space of about three leagues.

The "Chatham," being separated in a gale of wind from the "Discovery," fell in with an island, which was named "Chatham Island." along the north side of which she sailed for twelve leagues. It was situated in latitude  $43^{\circ} 48'$  S. and longitude  $183^{\circ} 02'$  East, and its inhabitants much resembled the natives of New Zealand.

The natives who now and then showed themselves about the distant settlements, towards the latter end of the month wounded a convict who was taking provisions to a settler at Prospect Hill. The wound was not dangerous; but it occasioned the loss of the provisions with which he was intrusted.

The rain of April came too late to save the Indian corn of the season, which now wore a most unpromising appearance. Another grain had been lately introduced into the settlement, and grown at Toongabbe and other places, which they thought would answer well for stock. This was the kaffir corn of Africa, and had every appearance of proving a useful grain.

An extraordinary appearance in the sky was observed by several people between five and six o'clock in the evening of Friday, the 12th of the month. It was noticed in the north-west, and appeared as if a ray of forked lightning had been stationary in that quarter of the sky for about fifteen minutes,



which was the time it was visible. It was not to be discerned, however, after the sun had quitted the horizon.

In the beginning of the month the weekly ration had been altered, the male convicts receiving, instead of seven, four pounds of flour; to which were added four pounds of wheat and six pounds of maize in the cob: the allowance of salt provisions remain unaltered; but the oil being expended, six ounces of sugar were issued in lieu of that article. The people themselves allowed this to be a good ration.

With a ration that they admitted to be a good one, with about six hours labour during five days of the week, and with the advantages of gardens and good huts, the situation of the convicts might at this period be deemed comfortable, and such as precluded all excuse for misconduct. Robberies were, notwithstanding, often committed, and the maize, which was still in the field, suffered continual depredations.

A distinction was again made in the ration served to the civil and military; they receiving six, instead of four pounds, of flour, which was the convicts' allowance.

About the middle of the month the weather was extremely bad. On the 15th a report was spread, in the midst of a most violent squall of wind and rain, that a ship was coming in.

Every one believing it to be true, the town was soon in motion, notwithstanding the storm; for, although it was not then so rare as it had been to hear of a ship, yet there was always something cheering and grateful, and perhaps ever will be, in entertaining the idea that their society was about to be increased, and that they were on the point of receiving intelligence from their connections, or information of what was doing in the world from which they felt themselves almost severed. On this occasion, however, they were disappointed; for they soon learned that no signal had been made, nor a ship seen to occasion it. But they had been well trained in New South Wales to meet and endure disappointment.

The principal labour in hand at Sydney during the month of May was what the building of the barracks occasioned; and at the other settlements the people were chiefly employed in getting into the ground the grain for the ensuing season, and in preparing for sowing the maize. This article having in the late season proved very unprofitable, the Lieutenant-Governor determined to sow with wheat as much of the public grounds as he could; and every settler who chose to apply was permitted to draw as much wheat from the public granary as his



ground required, proper care being taken to insure its being applied to that use. At Toongabbe no addition had been made to the public ground since Governor Phillip's departure; but by a survey made at the latter end of this month it appeared, that the officers to whom lands had been granted, had cultivated and cleared two hundred and thirty-three acres, and had cut down the timber from two hundred and nineteen more. All the settlers of a different description had added something to their grounds; and there were many who might be pronounced to be advancing fast toward the comfortable situation of independent farmers.

The quantity of land granted since the Governor's departure amounted to one thousand five hundred and seventy-five acres, eight hundred and thirty of which lay between the towns of Sydney and of Parramatta, the Lieutenant-Governor wishing and purposing to form a chain of farms between those settlements. The advantages to be derived from this communication were, the opening of an extent of country in the neighbourhood of both townships, and the benefit that would ultimately accrue to the colony at large from the cultivation of a track of as good land as any that had been hitherto opened; by some, indeed, it was deemed superior to the land immediately about Parramatta or Toongabbe. In this chain, on the Parramatta side, were placed those settlers who had gone out in the "Bellona"; and, although they had only taken possession of their farms about the middle of February, they had got some ground ready for wheat, and by their industry had approved themselves deserving of encouragement.

The "Kitty" transport being fitted for her return to England, it was intended that she should sail on the second of June. Her departure was, however, delayed by the appearance of a mutiny among the sailors at the very moment of being ordered to get the anchor up and proceed to sea. The master, Mr. George Ramsay, had frequently complained of some of the sailors of his ship for various offences, and several of them had been punished on shore; one, in particular, of the name of Williams. This man and four others were found by the master drinking, and with a light burning in the forecastle, at the improper hour of twelve at night. On being ordered to put out the light, they refused, swearing that if the master put it out they would light it again. This, however, he effected; when he was seized by Williams and the other sailors, and

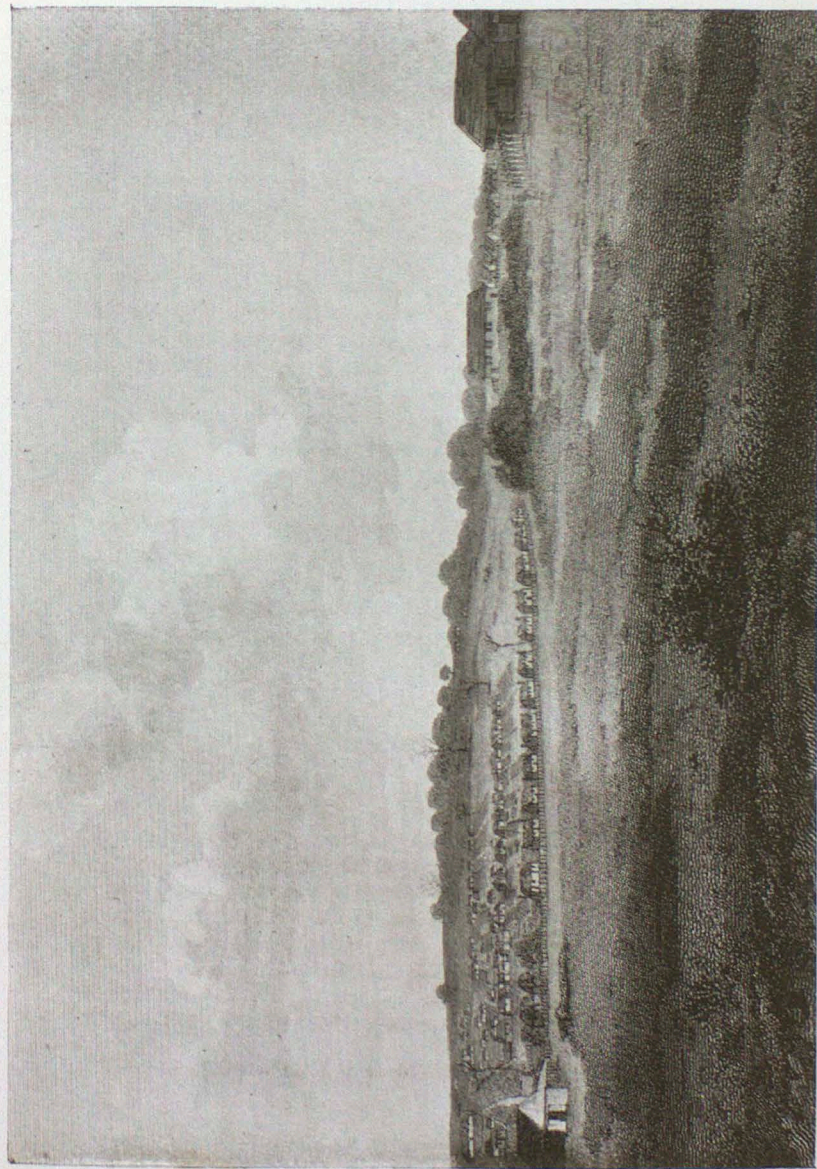


thrown into the water. Fortunately he could swim, (a circumstance unknown to these miscreants) and he reached the ship's side, whence, the mate coming to his assistance, he was, though with some difficulty, (being a very heavy man) got into the ship. The master, notwithstanding this outrage, would have put to sea the next morning; but when he ordered the topsails to be hoisted, and the ship got under way, Williams stood forward, and, for himself and the rest, declared with much insolence, that the anchor should not be weighed until the proper number of hands belonging to the ship were on board (she was deficient three men and two boys, the latter of whom had run away the night before). The anchor, however, was got up by the assistance of the passengers and some people of the settlement, who had boats alongside. The Lieutenant-Governor, on being informed of the dangerous and alarming temper which the seamen manifested, resolved, by taking a firm and very active part, to crush the disorder at once. He accordingly went on board in person, with some soldiers, and returned with Williams and two others who were pointed out to him; when they were taken to the public parade, and there punished, Williams with one hundred and fifty, and his companions with one hundred lashes each. In the moment of punishment William's courage forsook him and the spirit which he had displayed on board was all evaporated. He would have said or done anything to have averted the lash; yet he well knew what a flogging was, having been flogged from ship to ship at Spithead for a similar offence.

The appearance of mutiny is at all times and in every situation to be dreaded; but in that country nothing could be more alarming. The Lieutenant-Governor saw the affair in that light; and, with a celerity and firmness adapted to the exigency of the case, restored tranquillity and safety to all those who were concerned in the fate of the "*Kitty*." On the following day several depositions were taken by the Judge-Advocate, for the purpose of being transmitted to the Navy-Board; and, the three seamen being replaced by convicts, the "*Kitty*" proceeded on her voyage.

On the fourth of June His Majesty's birthday was, as usual, set apart as a day of rest from labour, and dedicated to festivity. On this occasion His Excellency ordered twelve of the largest hogs that had been received by the "*Dædalus*," to be killed and divided among the military, superintendents, and sick at the hospital.





A South-East View in Sydney, extending from the old to the new Barracks, including the Church, Pitt and Spring Rows.







Notwithstanding the purchases of provisions which had fortunately been made from the "Philadelphia" brigantine before Governor Phillip's departure, and since that time from the "Hope" and from the "Shah Hormuzear," the Lieutenant-Governor found it necessary on the 12th of the month to give notice, "That unless supplies arrived before the 22nd, he should be under the disagreeable necessity of ordering the ration to be reduced on that day." The state of the store but too well authorized this determination, it containing at the present ration not more than ten weeks' supply of any single article; and it must be remarked, that but for the purchases which had been most fortunately made, the colony must at that moment have been again groaning under the oppression of a very reduced ration; and as none of these incidental supplies could be known in England, it was fair to conclude, that the probable, nay certain distress of these luckless people, must have been adverted to, and that ships with provisions were now not very far distant. Under this idea, although on the 22nd no supplies had arrived, the Lieutenant-Governor determined to wait one week longer before he directed the necessary reduction. It was always a painful duty to abridge the food of the labouring man, and had been much too often exercised in that country. The putting off, therefore, of the evil day for another week, in the hope of any decrease being rendered unnecessary by the arrival of supplies, met with general applause.

On the Monday following, at nine o'clock at night, the joyful tidings were announced of the arrival of the "Britannia," for whose safety fears had been entertained, eight months having elapsed since she had left that port. To doubt her welcome, would be to conclude that the inhabitants had had their whole stock of feeling exhausted by the various trials to which they had been exposed.

Mr. Raven touched at Dusky Bay in New Zealand; and of the timber which he found there he made a very favourable report, pronouncing it to be light, tough, and in every respect fit for masts or yards. From New Zealand the "Britannia," after rounding Cape Horn, proceeded to the island of Santa Catherina, on the Brazil coast, where the Portuguese have a settlement, and from whose Governor Mr. Raven received much civility during the eighteen days that he remained there. Not being able at this place to procure any of the articles which he was instructed to purchase, (one cow and one cow-calf



excepted,) he stood over to the African continent, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 24th of March. At this port he took on board thirty cows; three mares; twelve goats; a quantity of flour, sugar, tobacco and spirits; with other articles, according to the orders of his employers. Mr. Raven afforded another instance of the great difficulty attending the transporting of cattle to that country; for notwithstanding the extreme care and attention which had been paid to them, twenty-nine of the cows and three goats unfortunately died.

From the length of time which the "*Britannia*" had been absent, observation was forcibly drawn to the distance whereat this colony was placed from any quarter which could furnish it with supplies; and a calculation of the length of time which had been taken by other ships to procure them, confirmed the necessity that existed of using every exertion which might place it in a state of independence.

The difficulty of introducing cattle into the colony had been rendered evident by the miscarriage of the different attempts made by the several ships. In this particular they had indeed been singularly unfortunate; for they had not only lost the greater part of what had been purchased and embarked for the colony, as will have appeared; but they had at the beginning, as may be remembered, lost the few that did survive the passage. Of these, it was not known with any certainty what had been the fate. Some of the natives who resided in the settlement, on observing cattle which had been landed, declared that they had seen such animals destroyed by their own people; and even offered to lead anyone to the place where some of their bones might be found; but, from the distance of the supposed spot, and more important concerns, this had never been sought after. It was very probable that they had been so destroyed; if not, and that they had met with no other accident, their increase at this time must have been very considerable.

Of the stock which had been landed in the colony, there remained at this time three bulls, twenty-one cows, seven calves. Sheep, horses, and hogs, were found to endure, better than any other stock, the rough weather which was in general met with between the Cape of Good Hope and that country.

The natives had latterly become very troublesome, particularly in lurking between the different settlements, and forcibly taking provisions and clothing from the convicts who were passing from one to another. One or two convicts having



been wounded by them, some small armed parties were sent out to drive them away, and to throw a few shot among them; but with positive orders to be careful not to take a life.

Several of these people, however, continued to reside in the town, and to mix with its inhabitants in the most unreserved manner. It was no uncommon circumstance to see them coming in with bundles of fire-wood which they had been hired to procure, or bringing water from the tanks; for which services they thought themselves well repaid with any worn-out jacket or trousers, or blankets, or a piece of bread. Of the latter article they were exceedingly fond; and their constant prayer was for bread, importuning with as much earnestness and perseverance as if begging for bread had been their profession from their infancy.

On the first of July the "Dædalus" sailed to convey to Captain Vancouver the provisions and stores which had been required by that officer. Lieutenant Hanson, the naval agent on board, received the most pointed orders for the ship to return to that port immediately after having executed the service on which she was then going. The "Dædalus" was considered as a colonial ship; and nothing but Captain Vancouver's express requisition to have the stores and provisions which were on board her (the stores being chiefly articles of traffic) sent back to him, to enable him to fulfil the instructions that he had received, would have induced the Lieutenant-Governor, in the then situation of the colony, to have parted with her, when it was highly probable that her services might be wanting to procure supplies, and at no distant period, if ships did not very speedily arrive to their assistance.

On board the "Dædalus" was embarked a native of the country, who was sent by the Lieutenant-Governor for the purpose of acquiring the English language. Lieutenant Hanson was directed by no means to leave him at Nootka, but, if he survived the voyage, to bring him back to his friends and countrymen. His native names were Gnung-a-gnung-a, Mur-re-mur-gan; but he had for a time entirely lost them, even among his own people, who called him "Collins," after the Judge-Advocate, whose name he had adopted on the first day of his being at the settlement. He was a man of a more gentle disposition than most of his associates; and from the confidence that he placed in his new acquaintance, very readily undertook the voyage, although he left behind him a young



wife (a sister of Bennillong, who accompanied Governor Phillip).

On the 6th, the intended change took place in the ration; and it being a week on which pork was to be issued, three pounds of that article were served instead of four. The other articles remained the same.

The clergyman, who suffered as much inconvenience as other people from the want of a proper place for the performance of divine service, himself undertook to remove the evil, on finding that, from the pressure of other works, it was not easy to foresee when a church would be erected. He accordingly began one under his own inspection, and chose the situation for it at the back of the huts on the east side of the cove. The front was seventy-three feet by fifteen; and at right angles with the centre projected another building forty feet by fifteen. The edifice was constructed of strong posts, wattles, and plaster, and was thatched\*. Much credit was due to the Rev. Mr. Johnson for his personal exertions on this occasion.

From the first landing in New South Wales to the present day, there had been no effectual remedy found to prevent either military or convicts from bartering their supplies for spirits. Often-repeated prohibitions were of no avail; and it was now discovered that the sugar and tobacco which had been served to the soldiers, had, almost as soon as received, been exchanged for Cape brandy at six times its value: fresh restrictions were therefore laid, and positive orders once more given.

About the middle of the month, all the wheat which was to be sown on the public account was got in, at and near Toongabbe; the quantity of ground was about three hundred and eighty acres. The wheat of last season being now nearly threshed out, some judgment could be formed of its produce; and it was found to have averaged between seventeen and eighteen bushels an acre. A large quantity of wheat had also been sown the present season by individuals, amounting to about one thousand three hundred and eighty-one bushels; every encouragement having been given to them to sow their grounds with that grain.

The frequent commission of crimes occasioned the criminal court of judicature to be assembled; when one man was

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\*The expense of building was computed at £40.



sentenced to die; but the court having recommended him to mercy on account of his youth, being only sixteen years of age, the Lieutenant-Governor as readily forgave as the court had recommended him; but that the prisoner might have all the benefit of so awful a situation, the change in his fate was not imparted to him until the very moment when he was about to ascend the ladder from which he was to have been plunged into eternity. He had appeared since his conviction as if devoid of feeling; but on receiving the information of a pardon being granted him, he fell on his knees in an agony of joy and gratitude. The solemn scene appeared likewise to make a forcible impression on his fellow-prisoners who were present.

The weather of the winter, 1793, having been colder than any that they had yet experienced, great exertions were made to clothe all the labouring convicts; and for that purpose the work of the tailors had for some time been confined to them. Every male received one cloth jacket, two canvas frocks, one pair of shoes, and one leather cap. The females also had been clothed.

On Wednesday, the 24th, the vessel which came from England in frame, being at length completed, was, with the assistance of Mr. Raven and his ship, hove down to low-water-mark, where she floated with the tide, and was hauled safely alongside the "Britannia." The ceremony of christening her was performed, and she was named the "Francis." By Mr. Raven's advice she was rigged as a schooner, instead of a sloop, for which she had been originally intended.

On the last day of July, a plan to take off one of the long-boats was revealed to the Lieutenant-Governor. The principal parties in it were soldiers; and their scheme was, to proceed to Java; with a chart of which they had been by some means furnished. If their plan had been put into execution, the evil would have carried with it its own punishment; for, had they survived the voyage, they would never have been countenanced by the Dutch, who were always very jealous of strangers going among them. Two of the soldiers were immediately put into confinement; and in the night, two others, one a corporal, went into the woods, taking with them their arms, and about one hundred rounds of powder and ball (which they collected from the different pouches in the barracks), their provisions and necessaries.

The principal works done at Sydney during July were, erecting kitchens and store-rooms for the officers' new barracks,



collecting timber, and constructing huts at Petersham for convicts. At Toongabbe the Indian corn was not all gathered; and housing of that, and preparing the ground for the reception of the next season's crop, occupied the labouring convicts at that settlement.

Some counterfeit dollars were in circulation; but the manufacturers of them could not be discovered.

The two soldiers who had been put in confinement as parties in the plan for seizing the long-boat were tried, and one of them acquitted; but the other, being found guilty, was sentenced to receive three hundred lashes. While smarting under the severity of his punishment, he gave up the names of six or eight of his brother soldiers, among whom were the two which had absented themselves the preceding evening. These people, the day following their desertion, were met in the path to Parramatta, and told an absurd story of their being sent to the Blue Mountains. They were next heard of at a settler's at Prospect Hill, whose house they entered forcibly, and, making him and his labourer prisoners, passed the night there. At another settler's they took sixteen pounds of flour, which they sent by his wife to a woman well known to them, and had it baked into small loaves. They signified a determination not to be taken alive, and threatened to lie in wait for the game-killers, of whose ammunition they meant to make themselves masters. These declarations manifested at once the badness of their hearts, and the weakness of their cause; and the Lieutenant-Governor, on being made acquainted with them, sent out a small armed party to secure and bring them in; rightly judging, that people who were so ready at expressing everywhere a resolution to part with their lives rather than be taken, would not give much trouble in securing them.

This desertion, and the disaffection of those who went to take off a boat, was the more unaccountable and unpardonable, as the commanding officer had uniformly treated them with every indulgence. Spirits and other comforts had been procured for them; he had distinguished them from the convicts in the ration of provisions; he had allowed them to build themselves comfortable huts; he had indulged them with women; and, in a word, if he had erred, it was by too great attention to their wishes. At the same time these indulgencies were counterbalanced by a certainty of their being withdrawn when abused; and flagrant offenders were sure of meeting with punishment: yet there were many among them so ungrateful



for the benefits which they received, and so unmindful of their own interest and accommodation, that they behaved ill whenever they had an opportunity.

The two runaways were overtaken, and, as had been foreseen, secured without any opposition on their part.

On the 7th of August, the "Boddington" transport arrived from Ireland, having sailed from Cork on the 15th of February, with one hundred and twenty-four male, and twenty female convicts of that kingdom on board, provision calculated to serve them nine months after their arrival, and a proportion of clothing for twelve months. The Irish convicts had attempted to take the ship; but their design had been frustrated by the vigilance and activity of the master and a subaltern's party of the New South Wales corps.

No ship could have brought out their convicts in higher order, or could have given stronger proofs of attention to their health and accommodation, than did this vessel. Each had a bed to himself, and a new suit of clothes to land in. On the part of the crown also, to see justice done to the convicts, there was a surgeon of the navy on board, and a superintendent; and on the part of the contractor, a surgeon also. They had not any sick list, and had lost only one man on the passage.

Advices were received by this ship, that administration intended to make arrangements for their being supplied from Bengal with live cattle; and this became a favourite idea with every person in the colony; for the sheep, though small, were found to be very productive, breeding twice in the year; and generally bringing two lambs at a birth. The climate was also found to agree well with the cattle of the buffalo species which had been received.

The convicts, on quitting the "Boddington," gave their captain (Mr. Robert Chalmers) three hearty cheers, as a token of their gratitude for his humanity and good treatment of them.

It being necessary to mark with some degree of severity the offence which had been committed by the two soldiers, a general court-martial was assembled for their trial. The Lieutenant-Governor, with much humanity, forbore to charge them with a capital offence; bringing them to trial for absenting themselves from headquarters without leave, instead of the more serious crime of desertion.

By the Mutiny Act, a general court-martial may, in Africa, consist of less than thirteen commissioned officers, but not less



than five; the like provision was also extended to New South Wales; and nine officers formed the court now assembled for the first time in that colony, Captain Collins officiating as Judge-Advocate. The prisoners did not deny the crime with which they were charged; the corporal, after being reduced to the ranks, was sentenced to receive five hundred lashes, and the private soldier eight hundred. The sentence being approved by the Lieutenant-Governor, was in part carried into execution, the corporal receiving two hundred and seventy-five, and the soldier three hundred lashes.

It has been seen, that the supply brought by the "Boddington" was very inconsiderable; and no greater quantity was expected with any degree of certainty by the ship which was to follow. The salt provisions remaining in store (by a calculation made up to the 28th) were sufficient for only fourteen weeks at the full ration, including what had been received by the "Boddington," and some surplus provisions which had been purchased of the agent to the contractor, and one hundred casks of pork which had been omitted by an oversight in the last account.

When it was considered that their supplies would always be affected by commotions at home, and that, if a war should take place between England and any other nation, they might be retarded or taken by the enemy, the Lieutenant-Governor determined, while he had in his own hands the means of supplying himself, to employ them; and on the 26th chartered the "Britannia" for India. She was to proceed to Bengal, to be freighted by the Government of that presidency with salt provisions, Irish beef or pork; and in the event of it not being possible to procure them, the ship was to return loaded with sugar, rice, and dholl.

The clergyman having completed the building which he began in July, divine service was performed in it for the first time on Sunday, the 25th of August; and for a temporary accommodation it appeared likely to answer very well. Mr. Johnson in his discourse, which was intended to impress the minds of his audience with the necessity of holiness in every place, lamented that the urgency of public works had prevented any undertaking of the kind before, and had thus thrown it upon him; he declared that he had no other motive for standing forward in the business, than that of establishing a place sheltered from bad weather, and from the summer heats, where





A Western View of Sydney Cove.







public worship might be performed. He said, that the uncertainty of a place where they might attend had prevented many from coming; but he hoped that now the attendance would be regular.

The provisions by the "Boddington" proved to be in most excellent condition, not a single article being damaged.

Much apprehension was entertained for the wheat, which began to look yellow and parched for want of rain. Toward the latter end of the month, however, some rain fell during three days and nights, which considerably refreshed it. But there being no fixed period at which wet weather was to be expected in that country, it might certainly be pronounced too dry for wheat.

Unproductive as the Indian corn sown last year on the public grounds had proved, the settlers' crops must have been more fortunate; for, after reserving a sufficiency of seed for the ensuing season, and for their domestic purposes, a few had raised enough to enable them to sell twelve hundred bushels to government, who, on receiving it into the public stores, paid five shillings per bushel to the bringer. Government, however, was not resorted to in the first instance by the settler, who preferred disposing of his corn where he could receive spirits in payment (which he retailed for labour), to bringing it to the commissary for five shillings a bushel; but at this price, from whose hands soever it might come, it was received into the public stores.

It might have been supposed, that the fatal consequence of endeavouring to find in the woods of New South Wales a place where the means of life could be obtained without labour, had been sufficiently felt by the convicts who had tried it, to have deterred others from rushing into the same error, as they would doubtless acquaint the new comers with the ill success which had attended all their schemes of that nature. Several of those, however, who came out in the "Boddington," went off into the woods soon after their landing; and a small party composed of some desperate characters, about the same time stole a boat, and, as they were not heard of for some days after, it was supposed that they had either got out of the harbour, or were lying concealed until, being joined by those who had taken to the woods, they could procure a larger and a safer conveyance from the country.

On the 17th of September, the "Sugar-Cane" transport anchored in the cove from Cork. She had on board one



hundred and ten male, and fifty female convicts, and a sergeant's party of the New South Wales corps as a guard. On the 25th of May, information was given to the agent on the part of Government, that a meeting was intended by the convicts, and that they had proceeded so far as to saw off some of their irons. Insinuations were at the same time thrown out of the probability of their being joined by certain of the sailors and of the guard. The agent, after making the necessary inquiry, thought it indispensable to the safety of the ship, to cause an instant example to be made, and ordered one of the convicts who was found out of irons to be executed that night; others were punished the next morning; and by these measures, as might well be expected, threw such a damp on the spirits of the rest, that he heard no more during the voyage of attempts or intentions to take the ship.

After the arrival of the "Boddington," many circumstances respecting the intended mutiny in that ship had been disclosed by the convicts themselves, which were not before known. They did not hesitate to say, that all the officers were to have been murdered, the first mate and the agent excepted, who were to be preserved alive for the purpose of conducting the ship to a port, where they were likewise to be put to death.

As intentions of this kind had been talked of in several ships, the military guard should never have been less than an officer's command, and that guard (especially when embarked for the security of a ship full of wild lawless Irish) ought never to have been composed either of young soldiers, or of deserters from other corps.

Captain Paterson, of the New South Wales corps, an account of whose journeys in Africa appeared in print some years ago, conceiving that he might be able to penetrate as far as, or even beyond, the western mountains, (commonly known in the colony by the name of the Blue Mountains, from the appearance which land so high and distant generally wears,) set off from the settlement with a small party of gentlemen, well provided with arms, and having provisions and necessaries sufficient for a journey of six weeks, to make the attempt. Boats were sent round to Broken Bay, whence they got into the Hawkesbury, and the fourth day as far as Richmond Hill. At this place, in the year 1789, the Governor's progress up the river was obstructed by a fall of water, which his boats were too heavy to drag over. This difficulty Captain Paterson overcame by quitting his large boats, and proceeding from



Richmond Hill with two that were smaller and lighter. He found that this part of the river carried him to the westward, and into the chasm that divided the high land seen from Richmond Hill. Hither, however, he got with great difficulty and some danger, meeting in the space of about ten miles with not less than five water-falls, one of which was rather steep, and was running at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour. Above this part the water was about fifteen yards from side to side, and came down with some rapidity, a fall of rain having swollen the stream. Their navigation was here so intricate, lying between large pieces of rock that had been torn down by torrents, and some stumps of trees which they could not always see, that (after having loosened a plank in one boat, and driven the other upon a stump which forced its way through her bottom) they gave up any farther progress, leaving the western mountains to be the object of discovery at some future day. It was supposed that they had proceeded ten miles farther up the river than had before been done, and named that part of it, which until then had been unseen, "the Grose;" and a high peak of land, which they had in view in the chasm, they called Harrington Peak. Captain Paterson as a botanist, was amply rewarded for his labour and disappointment by discovering several new plants. Of the soil in which they grew, however, he did not speak very favourably.

He saw but few natives; and those who did visit them were almost unintelligible to the natives of Port Jackson who accompanied him. He entertained a notion, that their legs and arms were longer than those of the inhabitants of the coast. As they live by climbing trees, if there really was any such difference, it might perhaps have been occasioned by the custom of hanging by their arms and resting on their feet at the utmost stretch of the body, which they practice from their infancy. The party returned on the 22nd, having been absent about ten days. In their walk to Pitt Water, they met with the boat which had been stolen by some of the Irish convicts; and a few days after their return, some of those who had run into the woods came into Parramatta, with an account of two of their party having been speared and killed by the natives. The men who were killed were very bad characters, and had been the principals in the intended mutiny on board the "Boddington." Their destruction was confirmed by some of the natives who lived in the town.



The foundation of another barrack for officers was begun. For the privates, one only was yet erected; but this was attended with no inconvenience to them, as all those who were not in quarters had built themselves comfortable huts. This indulgence, no doubt, was pleasant to the soldiers; but it had ever been considered, that soldiers could nowhere be so well regulated as when living in quarters, where, by frequent inspections and visitings, their characters would be known, and their conduct attended to. In a multiplicity of scattered huts, the eye of vigilance would with difficulty find its object; and the soldier in possession of a habitation of his own, might, in the course of time, think of himself more as an independent citizen than as a subordinate soldier.

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## CHAPTER XII.

On the 13th of October the "Boddington" and "Sugar-Cane" sailed for Bengal, purposing to follow in the "Atlantic's" track. The master of the former was furnished with the copy of a chart made on board the "Pitt," Indiaman, and brought to Sydney by the "Britannia," of a passage or channel found by that ship in the land named by Lieutenant Shortland New Georgia; which channel was placed in the latitude of  $8^{\circ} 30'$  S. and in the longitude of  $158^{\circ} 30'$  E. and named "Manning's Straits."

Early in the month an alteration took place in the weekly ration, the four pounds of wheat served to the convicts were discontinued, and a substitution of one pint of rice, and two pints of gram, (an East India grain resembling dhol,) took place. The serving of wheat was discontinued for the purpose of issuing it as flour; to accomplish which, a mill had been constructed by a convict, whose abilities as a millwright had hitherto laid dormant, and perhaps would longer have continued so had they not been called forth by a desire of placing himself in competition with the millwright sent by Government to the settlement of Sydney.

His machine was a walking mill, the principal wheel of which was fifteen feet in diameter, and was worked by two men: while this wheel was performing one revolution, the mill-stones performed twenty. As it had been in opposition to the public millwright that he undertook to construct this mill, he of course derived no assistance whatever from the other's knowledge, and had to contend not only with his opinion, but the opinion of such as he could prejudice against him. The heavy part of the work, cutting and bringing in the timber, and afterwards preparing it, was performed by his fellow-prisoners, who gave him their labour voluntarily. He was three months and five days from his taking it in hand to his offering it for the first trial. On this trial it was found defective in some of the machinery, which was all constructed of the timber of the country, and not properly seasoned. Its effects in grinding were various; at first, two bushels an hour; afterwards four; and at last only one. Had the whole



of the machinery been upon a larger scale, there was every reason to suppose that it would have answered the expectation of the most interested. The constructor, however, had a great deal of merit, and, perceiving what the defects were, undertook to make another upon a larger scale at Sydney, and on an improved plan. For this purpose, all the artificers and a gang of convicts were sent down from Parramatta, and were first employed in forming a timber-yard at Petersham, two hundred feet square.

At this place (a small district in the neighbourhood of Sydney, so named by the Lieutenant-Governor) nine huts for labouring convicts were built, and sixty acres of government ground cleared of timber, twenty of which were sown with Indian corn. This was the only addition made to the public ground that season; and the sole difference that was observable in the progress of their cultivation, consisted in sowing that year with wheat a large portion of that ground which the last year grew Indian corn. The weather throughout the month had been extremely favourable for wheat.

The number of convicts which it was intended to receive into the New South Wales corps being determined, a warrant of emancipation passed the seal of the territory, giving conditional freedom to three-and-twenty persons of that description, seven of whom had been transported for life, and three had between six and nine years to serve. The condition of their pardon was, their continuing to serve in the corps into which they had enlisted until they should be regularly discharged therefrom.

Several fresh proofs of the incorrigible depravity of the convicts had occurred during the month of October: four of them had broken into the house of a settler, where with large bludgeons they had beaten and nearly murdered two men who lived with him. The hands and faces of these miscreants were blackened; and it was observed, that they did not speak during the time they were in the hut. It was supposed that they were some of those who had come from Ireland; seven of whom, with one woman, had at this time absconded into the woods.

During a storm of rain and thunder which happened in the afternoon of Saturday the 26th, two convicts, who were employed in cutting wood when the rain commenced, ran to a tree for shelter, where they were found next morning lying dead, together with a dog which followed them. There was



no doubt that the shelter which they sought had proved their destruction, and that they had been struck dead by lightning, some flashes of which had been observed to be very vivid and near. One of them, when he received the stroke, had his hands in his bosom; the hands of the other were across his breast, and he seemed to have had something in them. The pupils of their eyes were considerably dilated, and the tongue of each, as well as that of the dog, was forced out between the teeth. Their faces were livid, and the same appearance was visible on several parts of their bodies. The tree at the foot of which they were found was barked at the top, and some of the branches were torn off. In the evening they were decently buried in one grave, to which they were attended by many of their fellow-prisoners. Mr. Johnson, to a discourse which he afterwards preached on the subject, prefixed as a text these words from the first book of Samuel, "There is but a step between me and death."

This was the first accident of the kind that had occurred in the colony, though lightning more vivid and alarming had often been seen in storms of longer duration.

While everyone was expecting the colonial vessel, the "Francis," from New Zealand, the signal for a sail was made on the 29th; and shortly after, the "Fairy," an American snow, anchored in the cove from Boston in New England, and last from the island of St. Paul, whence she had a passage of only four weeks.

The master expressed a surprise that the inhabitants of Sydney had not any small craft on the coast, as he observed a plentiful harvest of seals as he came along. He had touched at Port Jackson merely to refresh, not having anything on board for sale; his cargo consisting wholly of articles of traffic for the north-west coast of America.

Two of the settlers, Williams and Ruse, weary of independence, sold each his farm, with the house, crop, and stock; the first for something less than one hundred pounds, the other for forty. Both these people had to seek employment until they could get away; and Williams was reduced to work as a hireling upon the ground of which he had been the master. But he was a stranger to the feelings which would have rendered this circumstance disagreeable to him.

The greatest inconvenience attending this transfer of landed property was, the return of such a miscreant as Williams, and others of his description, to England, to be let loose again upon



the public. The land itself went into the possession of people who were interested in making the most of it, and who would be more studious to raise plentiful crops for market.

About four hundred and twenty acres of Indian corn were planted at different settlements for the coming season's crop.

On the 7th of November, the "Francis" schooner returned from Dusky Bay in New Zealand. It was found that, by rigging this little vessel as a schooner instead of a sloop, for which she was built, her sailing had been materially affected. Four times she was blown off the coast of New Zealand. She left Mr. Raven and his ship's company well at Dusky Bay, but his people had taken only four thousand five hundred seal skins. Mr. Raven stated the spruce fir of that country to be the fittest wood that he had observed for ship-building, and it might be procured in any quantity or of any size. The carpenter of the "Britannia," an ingenious man, and master of his profession, compared it to English oak for durability and strength.

The natives had not molested the "Britannia's" people: indeed, they seemed rather to abhor them; for, if by chance, in their excursions (which were very few), they visited and left anything in a hut, they were sure, on their next visit, to find the hut pulled down, and their present remaining where it was left. Some little articles which Mr. Raven had himself placed in a hut, when he touched there to establish his little fishery, were found three months after by his people in the same spot.

Their weather had been very bad; severe gales of wind from the north-west, and heavy rains, often impeding the fishery and other labour. A shock of an earthquake too had been felt. They had an abundance of fresh provisions, ducks, wood-hens, and several other fowl, and caught large quantities of fish. The soil, to a great depth, appeared to be composed of decayed vegetable substances.

Nothing appeared, by this information from Dusky Bay, that held out encouragement to the government of Port Jackson to make any use of that part of New Zealand. So little was said of the soil, or face of the country, that no judgment could be formed of any advantages which might be expected from attempting to cultivate it: a seal-fishery there, was not an object with it at present; and, beside, it did not seem to promise much. The time the schooner was absent, however, was not wholly misapplied, it proving the event of having,



as Mr. Raven had done, left twelve people for ten months on so populous an island, the inhabitants whereof were known to be savages, fierce and warlike. It might certainly be supposed that these people were unacquainted with the circumstances of there being any strangers near them; and that consequently they had not any communication with the few miserable beings who were occasionally seen in the coves of Dusky Bay.

On Saturday, the 23rd of November, the flour and rice in the store being nearly expended, the ration was altered to the following proportions of those articles, viz.:

To the officers, civil and military, soldiers, overseers, and the settlers from free people, were served—of biscuit or flour, two pounds; Indian corn, five pounds; wheat, two pounds; pease three pints. To the male convicts were served, women and children receiving in the proportions always observed, (of biscuit or flour, none,—and for the first time since the establishment of the colony); wheat three pounds; Indian corn, five pounds; paddy, two pints; gram, two pints.

This was universally felt as the worst ration that had ever been served from His Majesty's stores; and by the labouring convict particularly so, as no article of grain was prepared for him so as to be immediately made use of. The quantity that was now to be ground, and the numbers who brought grain to the mill, kept it employed all the night as well as the day; and as, from the scarcity of mills, every man was compelled to wait for his turn, the day had broke and the drum beat for labour before many who went in to the mill-house at night had been able to get their corn ground. The consequence was, that many, not having power to wait, consumed their allowance unprepared. By the next Saturday, a quantity of wheat sufficient for one serving having been passed through the large mill at Parramatta, the convicts received their ration of that article ground coarse.

Short as was the quantity of flour in store, they did not, however, despair of being able to issue some meal of that season's growth before it could be entirely expended. About the middle of the month, the wheat that was sown in April, about ninety acres, being perfectly ripe, the harvest commenced; and from that quantity of ground it was calculated that upwards of twenty-two bushels an acre would be received. Most of the settlers had begun to reap; and they, as well as others who had grown grain, were informed, that "wheat, properly dried and cleaned, would be received at Sydney by



the Commissary at ten shillings the bushel; but that none could be purchased from any other persons than those who had grown it on their own farms; neither could any be taken into the stores at Parramatta."

The precaution of receiving wheat only from those persons who had raised it, was intended to prevent the petty and rascally traffic which would otherwise have been carried on between free people off the stores, and persons who might employ them to sell the fruits of their depredations on the public and other grounds.

An idea very generally prevailed among the convicts, that the Lieutenant-Governor was not authorised to cause a sentence of death to be carried into execution: a notion that was in their minds confirmed by the mercy which had been extended to one of them who had been condemned, and pardoned by him. It became, therefore, absolutely necessary, for their own sakes, to let them see that he was not only possessed of the power, but that he would also exercise it. On this account, a prisoner then under sentence was executed on Tuesday, the 10th of December; and, most fortunately, there did not exist in the colony at that time a fitter object for example. The poor wretch, to his last moment, cherished the idea that he should not suffer; and consequently could have been ill prepared for the change that he was about to experience.

Independent of the consideration that this man had long been a proper object of severe punishment, to have pardoned him (even on any condition) would only have tended to strengthen the supposition that the Lieutenant-Governor had not the power of life and death; and many daring burglaries and other enormities would have followed.

On the 7th, the pease which had been served to the civil and military, and the gram served to the convicts, were withdrawn, and an equal quantity of wheat supplied in their stead.

On Monday, the 9th, the last pound of flour was served out. This total deprivation of so valuable, so essential an article in the food of man, happened, fortunately, at a season when its place could in some measure be supplied immediately, the harvest having been all safely got in at Toongabbe in the beginning of the month; about the middle of it eight hundred bushels were threshed out; and on Monday, the 16th, the civil and military received each seven pounds of wheat coarsely ground from the mill at Parramatta. This mill, from the



brittleness of the timber with which it was constructed, was found to be unequal to the consumption of the settlements. The cogs frequently broke, and hence it was not of any great utility. To remedy this inconvenience, a convict blacksmith undertook to produce one iron hand-mill each week, for which he was to be paid at the rate of two guineas; and by this means several mills were distributed in the settlements.

The salt meat being the next article which threatened a speedy expenditure, on the 8th one pound was taken from the weekly allowance of beef; and but a small quantity of Indian corn remaining in store, the male convicts received eight pounds of new wheat, whole; and only three pounds of Indian corn, or paddy, were served.

The passion for liquor was so predominant among the people, that it operated like a mania, there being nothing which they would not risk to obtain it: and while spirits were to be had, those who did any extra labour refused to be paid in money, or any other article than spirits, which were now, from their scarcity, sold at six shillings per bottle. A settler of the name of Webb, having procured a small still from England, found it more advantageous to draw an ardent diabolical spirit from his wheat, than to send it to the store and receive ten shillings per bushel from the Commissary. From one bushel of wheat he obtained nearly five quarts of spirits, which he sold, or paid in exchange for labour, at five and six shillings per quart.

M'Donald, a settler at the Field of Mars, made a different and a better use of the produce of his farm. Having a mill, he ground and dressed his wheat, and sold it to a baker at Sydney at fourpence per pound, procuring forty-four pounds of good flour from a bushel of wheat, which was taken at fifty-nine pounds. This person also killed a wether sheep (the produce of what had been given to him by Governor Phillip), and sold it at two shillings per pound, each quarter weighing about fifteen pounds.

The town of Sydney had this year increased considerably; not fewer than one hundred and sixty huts, beside five barracks, having been added since the departure of Governor Phillip. Some of these were large, and to each of them upwards of fourteen hundred bricks were allowed for a chimney and floor. These huts extended so as nearly to unite that district with the town.

About the latter end of the month a large party of the natives attacked some settlers who were returning from



Parramatta to Toongabbe, and took from them all the provisions which they had just received from the store. By flying immediately into the woods, they eluded all pursuit and search. They were of the hunter's or woodman's tribe, people who seldom came among the English, and who consequently were little known.

The natives who lived about Sydney appeared to place the utmost confidence in its inhabitants, choosing a clear spot between the town and the brickfield for the performance of any of their rites and ceremonies; and for three evenings the town had been amused with one of their spectacles, which might properly have been denominated a tragedy, for it was attended with a great effusion of blood. It appeared from the best account that could be procured, that one or more murders having been committed in the night, the assassins, who were immediately known, were compelled, according to the custom of the country, to meet the relations of the deceased, who were to avenge their deaths by throwing spears, and drawing blood for blood. One native of the tribe of Cammerray, a very fine fellow, named Carradah, who had stabbed another in the night, but not mortally, was obliged to stand for two evenings exposed to the spears not only of the man whom he had wounded, but of several other natives. He was suffered, indeed, to cover himself with a bark shield, and he behaved with the greatest courage and resolution. Whether his principal adversary (the wounded man) found that he possessed too much defensive skill to admit of his wounding him, or whether it was a necessary part of his punishment, was not known with any certainty; but on the second day that Carradah had been opposed to him and his party, after having received several of their spears on his shield, without sustaining any injury, he suffered the other to pin his left arm (below the elbow) to his side, without making any resistance; prevented, perhaps, by the uplifted spears of the other natives, who could easily have destroyed him, by throwing at him in different directions. Carradah stood, for some time after this, defending himself, although wounded in the arm which held the shield, until his adversaries had not a whole spear left, and had retired to collect the fragments and piece them together. On his sitting down, his left hand appeared to be very much convulsed, and the principal surgeon of the settlement was of opinion that the spear had pierced one of the nerves. The business was resumed when they had repaired their weapons,



and the fray appeared to be general, men, women, and children mingling in it, giving and receiving many severe wounds, before night put an end to their warfare.

What rendered this sort of contest as unaccountable as it was extraordinary was, that friendship and alliance were known to subsist between several that were opposed to each other, who fought with all the ardour of the bitterest enemies, and who, though wounded, declared the party by whom they had been hurt to be good and brave, and their friends.

Possessing by nature a good habit of body, the combatants very soon recovered of their wounds; and it was understood, that Carradah had not entirely expiated his offence, having yet another trial to undergo from some natives who had been prevented by absence from joining in the ceremonies of these evenings.

Among the conveniences that were now enjoyed in the colony, must be mentioned the introduction of passage-boats, which, for the benefit of settlers and others, were allowed to go between Sydney and Parramatta. They were the property of persons who had served their respective terms of transportation; and from each passenger one shilling was required for his passage; luggage was paid for at the rate of one shilling per cwt.; and the entire boat could be hired by one person for six shillings. This was a great accommodation to the description of people whom it was calculated to serve; and the proprietors of the boats found it very profitable to themselves.

The boat-builders and shipwrights found occupation enough for their leisure hours, in building boats for those who could afford to pay them for their labour. Five and six gallons of spirits was the price; but many of them were badly put together, and threatened destruction to whoever might unfortunately be caught in them with a sail up in blowing weather.

On the 24th of the month ten grants of land received the Lieutenant-Governor's signature. Five allotments of twenty-five acres each, and one of thirty, were given to six non-commissioned officers of the New South Wales corps, who had chosen an eligible situation nearly mid-way between Sydney and Parramatta; and who, in conjunction with four other settlers, occupied a district to be distinguished in future by the name of Concord. These allotments extended inland from the water's side, within two miles of the district named Liberty Plains.



The settlers at the latter place appeared to have very unproductive crops, having sown their wheat late. They were, indeed, of opinion, that they had made a hasty and bad choice of situation; but this was nothing more than the language of disappointment, as little judgment could be formed of what any soil in that country would produce until it had been properly worked, dressed, cleansed, and purged of the sour quality that was naturally inherent in it, which it derived from the droppings of wet from the leaves of gum and other trees, and which were known to be of an acrid destructive nature.

Another barrack for officers had been got up in the course of the month; but, for want of tiles, was only partly covered in. The great want of tiles that was occasionally felt, proceeded from there being only one person in the place who was capable of moulding them, and he could never burn more than thirty thousand in six weeks, being obliged to burn a large quantity of bricks in the same kilns. It required nearly sixty-nine thousand bricks to complete the building of one barrack, and twenty-one thousand tiles to cover it in. The number of tiles rendered useless by carriage, and destroyed in the kilns, was estimated at about three thousand in each kiln, and fifteen thousand were generally burnt off at a time.

To furnish bricks for these barracks, and other buildings, three gangs were constantly at work, finding employment for three overseers and about eighty convicts.

To convey these materials from the brickfield to the barrack-ground, a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, three brick-carts were employed, each drawn by twelve men, under the direction of one overseer. Seven hundred tiles, or three hundred and fifty bricks, were brought by each cart, and every cart in the day brought either five loads of bricks, or four of tiles. To bring in the timber necessary for these and other buildings, four timber-carriages were employed, each being drawn by twenty-four men. In addition to these, to each carriage were annexed two fallers, and one overseer, making a total of two hundred and twenty-eight men, who must be employed in any such heavy labour as the building of a barrack or a storehouse, exclusive of the sawyers, carpenters, smiths, painters, glaziers, and stonemasons, without whose labour they could not be completed.

The expense of victualling and clothing these people (both their provisions and the materials for making their clothes



being augmented above their prime cost, by freight, and by the cost of what might be damaged and useless) must be supposed to be considerable; and must be taken into account together with the cost of tools and of such materials as were not to be procured in the country, when calculating the expenses of the public works erected in that colony.

There died between the 1st of January and the 31st of December, both inclusive, two settlers, seven soldiers, seventy-eight male and twenty-six female convicts, and twenty-nine children. One male convict was executed; six were lost in the woods; one was found dead in the woods; one killed by the fall of a tree, and two were killed by lightning; making a decrease by death and accidents of one hundred and fifty-three persons. To this decrease may be added, four male convicts, who had found means to escape from the colony on board of some of the ships which had been there.

The following were the prices of grain, live and dead stock, groceries, spirits, &c., as they were sold or valued at Sydney, between which and Parramatta there was but a trifling difference.

Grain.—Wheat per bushel, for cash, 10s.; wheat in payment of labour, 14s.; maize per bushel, for cash, 7s.; maize, in payment for labour, 12s. 6d.; Kaffir corn, 5s.; English flour per pound, 6d.; flour of the country, for cash, 3d.; flour, for labour, 4d.

Vegetables.—Potatoes per cwt., 10s.; potatoes per pound, 1½d.

Live and Dead Stock.—Ewes (Cape), from £6 to £8 8s.; wethers (Cape), from £4 to £5 10s.; she-goats, full grown £8 8s.; she-goats, half-grown, £4 4s.; male goat, full-grown, £2; breeding sows, from £3 to £6; sucking pigs, 6s.; a full-grown hog, from £3 to £3 10s.; turkeys, per couple, £2 2s.; ducks, per couple, 10s.; laying hens, each 5s.; a full-grown cock, 4s.; half-grown fowls, 2s.; chickens six weeks old, per couple, 2s.; fresh pork, per pound, 9d.; mutton, per pound, from 2s. to 2s. 6d.; kangaroo, per pound, 4d.; salt pork, per pound, 9d.; salt beef, per pound, 6d.

Groceries.—Tea, green, from 12s. to 16s.; tea, black, from 10s. to 12s.; loaf sugar, per pound, 2s. 6d.; fine moist sugar, per pound, 2s.; coarse moist sugar, per pound, 1s. 6d.; butter, from 2s. per pound to 2s. 6d.; cheese, from 2s. per pound, to 2s. 6d.; soap, per pound, from 2s. to 3s.; tobacco, per pound, from 1s. to 1s. 6d.; lamp oil, made from shark's liver, per gallon, 4s.



Wine, Spirits, Porter.—Jamaica rum, per gallon, from £1 to £1 8s.; rum (American), from 16s. per gallon to £1.; cognac brandy, per gallon, from 16s. to £1 4s.; Cape brandy, per gallon, from 16s. to £1.; cherry brandy, per dozen, £3 12s.; wine (Cape Madeira) per gallon, 12s.; porter, per gallon, from 4s. to 6s.

The high prices of wine, spirits, and porter, proceeded not only from the scarcity, but from the great avidity with which they were procured by the generality of the people in these settlements, with whom money was of so little value, that the purchaser had been often known (instead of asking) to name himself a price for the article that he wanted, fixing it as high again as would otherwise have been required of him.

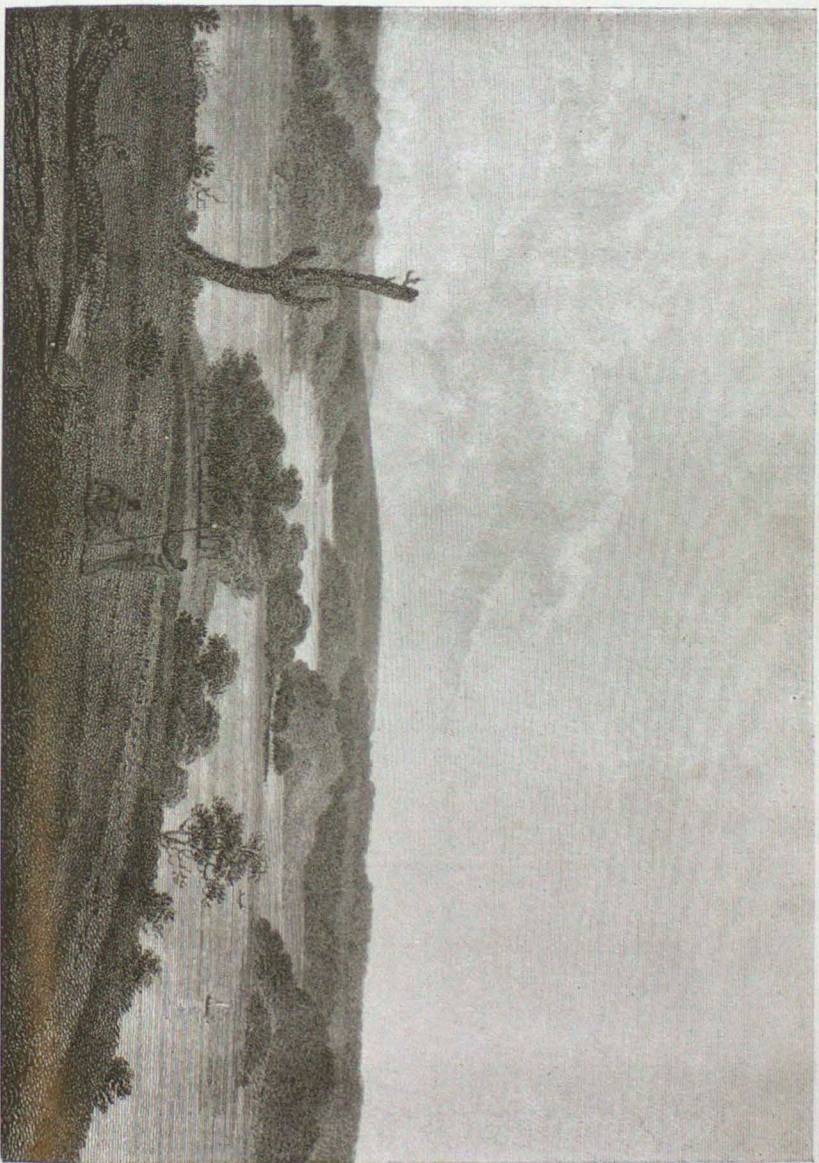
The live stock in the country belonging to individuals was confined to three or four persons, who kept up the price in order to create an interest in the preservation of it. An English cow, in calf, was sold by one officer to another for eighty pounds; and the calf, which proved a male, was sold for fifteen pounds. A mare, although aged and defective, had been sold for forty pounds. It must be remarked, however, that in these sales stock itself was generally the currency of the country, one kind of animals being commonly exchanged for another.

Labour was also proportionally high: where money was paid, it was taken at the reputed value; but where articles were given in lieu of labour, they were charged according to the prices stated.

The masters of merchantmen, who generally made it their business, immediately on their arrival, to learn the prices of commodities in the colony, finding them so extravagantly high as before related, thought it not their concern to reduce them to anything like a fair equitable value; but, by asking themselves what must be considered a high price, after every proper allowance for risk, insurance, and loss, kept up the extravagant nominal value which everything bore in the colony.

A report that had been spread some months before, of a watchman belonging to the township of Parramatta having been murdered, never having been confirmed, either by finding the body among the stalks of Indian corn, as was expected, or by any one subsequent circumstance, it was hoped that the story had been fabricated, and that murder was a crime which had not hitherto stained the annals of the colony. In proportion, indeed, as the numbers increased, and the inhabitants began to





The North View of Sydney Cove, taken from the end of Pitt's Row.







possess those comforts or necessities which might prove temptations to the idle and the vicious, that high and horrid offence must, in common with others of the same tendency, be expected to exist; but at that moment all thought their person secure, though their property was frequently invaded. On the 5th of January, 1794, however, an elderly convict employed to go out with the cattle at Parramatta, was most barbarously murdered. The cattle, having lost their conductor, remained that night in the woods; and when they were found, the absence of their keeper excited an apprehension that some accident had befallen him. His body was not discovered, however, until the Wednesday following; when, by the snorting and great uneasiness of the cattle, which had been driven out for the purpose, it was perceived lying in a hollow or ravine, into which it had been thrown by those merciless wretches who had butchered him, covered with logs, boughs, and grass. Some natives dogs, led by the scent of human blood, had found it, and by gnawing off both the hands, and the entire flesh from one arm, had added considerably to the horrid spectacle which the body exhibited.

This unfortunate man had imprudently boasted of being worth a good deal of money, and that he always carried it with him sewed up in some part of his clothes, to guard against losing it. If this was true, what he carried with him certainly proved his destruction; if not, the catastrophe must be attributed to his indiscreet declarations. By the various wounds which he had received, it appeared that he must have well defended himself, and could not have parted with his life until overpowered by numbers; for, though advanced in years, he was a stout muscular man; and it was from this circumstance concluded, that more than one person was concerned in the murder of him. To discover, if possible, the perpetrators of this atrocious offence, one or two men of bad characters were taken up and examined, as well as all the people employed about the dockyard: but nothing appeared that tended to fix it upon any one of them; and, desirable as it was that they should be brought to that punishment which sooner or later awaited them, it was feared that until some riot or disagreement among themselves should occur, no clue would be furnished that could lead to their detection. In tracing the motives that could lead to this murder, the pernicious vice of gaming presented itself as the first and grand cause. To such excess was this pursuit carried among the convicts, that some



had been known, after losing provisions, money, and all their spare clothing, to have staked and lost the very clothes on their wretched backs, standing in the midst of their associates as naked, and as indifferent about it, as the unconscious natives of the country which these gamblers disgraced. Money, was, however, the principal object of these people; for with money they could purchase spirits, or whatever else their passions made them covet, and the colony could furnish. They had been seen to play at their favourite games, cribbage and all-fours, for six, eight, and ten dollars each game; and those who were not expert at these, instead of pence, tossed up for dollars. Their meetings were scenes of quarrelling, swearing, and every profaneness that might be expected from the dissolute manners of those who composed them; and to this improper practice must undoubtedly be attributed most of the vices that existed in the colony, as pilferings, garden robberies, burglaries, profanation of the sabbath, and murder.

About the middle of the month, one small cow and a Bengal steer (both private property) were killed, and issued to the non-commissioned officers and privates of two companies of the New South Wales corps. This was but the third time that fresh beef had been tasted by the colonists of that country; once, it may be remembered, in the year 1788, and a second time when the Lieutenant-Governor and the officers of the settlement were entertained by the Spanish captains. At that time, however, had they not been informed that they were eating beef, they would never have discovered it by the flavour; and it certainly happened to more than one Englishman that day, to eat his favourite viand without recognising the taste. The Spanish mode of roasting beef or mutton was, first to boil and then to brown the joint before the fire.

The beef that was killed was sold to the soldiers at eighteen-pence per pound. The two animals together weighed three hundred and seventy-two pounds.

Accounts were received at Sydney of an uncommon storm of wind, accompanied with rain, which had occurred at Parramatta. In its violence it bordered on a hurricane, running in a vein, and in a direction from the east to west. The west-end of the Governor's hut was injured, the palings round some farms which lay in its passage were levelled, and a great deal of Indian corn was much damaged. It was not, however, felt at Sydney, nor, fortunately, at Toongabbie; and was of short duration; but the rain was represented as having been very



heavy. The climate was well known to be subject to sudden gusts of wind and changes of weather; but nothing of this violence had been before experienced.

It was found that the settlers, notwithstanding the plentiful crops which in general they might be said to have gathered, gave no assistance to Government by sending any into store. They appeared to be most sedulously endeavouring to get rid of their grain in any way that they could; some by brewing and distilling it; some by baking it into bread, and indulging their own propensities in eating; others by paying debts contracted by gaming. Even the farms themselves were pledged and lost in this way; those very farms which undoubtedly were capable of furnishing them with an honest comfortable maintenance for life.

It was pretty well ascertained, that their crops had yielded at the least seven thousand bushels of wheat. Of the different districts, that of Prospect Hill proved to be the most productive; some grounds there returned thirty bushels of wheat for one. Next to the district of Prospect Hill, the Northern Boundary farms were the best; but many of the settlers at the other districts ascribed their miscarriage more to the late periods at which their grounds were sown, than to any poverty of the soil.

The grounds in cultivation on account of Government, which had been sown with wheat, (three hundred and sixty acres,) was found to have produced about the same quantity as that raised by the settlers. Through the want of flour, the consumption of this article was very great; and toward the latter end of the month half of the whole produce of the last season (reserving twelve hundred bushels for seed) had been issued. This afforded but a gloomy prospect; for it was much feared, that unless supplies arrived in time, the Indian corn would not be ripe soon enough to save the seed wheat.

On the 25th, the grain from Bengal being expended, and no more Indian corn of the last year's growth remaining that could be saved, the public were informed, that from that time no other grain than wheat could be issued; and accordingly on that day the male convicts received for their week's subsistence three pounds of pork and eight pounds of wheat; and one pound more of wheat was issued to the civil and military.

In this unprovided state of the settlement, the return of Mr. Bampton with his promised cargo began to be anxiously expected. The completion of the "*Britannia's*" voyage was



also looked forward to, as a desirable event, though to be expected at a somewhat later period; and every shower of rain, as it tended to the benefit of the Indian corn then growing, was received as a sort of presage that at least the seed-wheat, the hopes of the next season, would be safe.

Another division of settlers was added to the list of those already established. Williams and Ruse, having got rid of the money which they had respectively received for their farms, were permitted, with some others, to open ground on the banks of the Hawkesbury, beginning with much spirit, and forming to themselves very sanguine hopes of success. At the end of the month they had cleared several acres, and were in some forwardness with a few huts. The natives had not given them any interruption. Those people, however, had not been so quiet in the neighbourhood of Parramatta, between which settlement and Prospect Hill some settlers had been attacked by a party of armed natives, and stripped of their provisions. These savages were very desirous of possessing the clothing and provisions of the inhabitants; and it was noticed, that as the corn ripened, they constantly drew together round the settlers' farms, and round the public grounds, for the purpose of committing depredations.

On the 12th of February the "Francis" returned from Norfolk Island. By her the Lieutenant-Governor stated that his crop had been abundant, and plenty was reigning among all descriptions of people in the island. His wheat was cut, the first of it on the 25th of November, and the harvest was well got in by Christmas Day. About two thousand bushels were the calculated produce of this crop, which would have been greater but for the want of rain. Of the maize, the first crop (having always two) was gathering while the schooner was there, and, notwithstanding the drought, turned out well; from one acre and a quarter of ground, one hundred and six bushels had been gathered; but it was pretty generally established on the island, that thirty-six bushels of maize might be taken as the average produce of an acre of ground.

The superior fertility of the soil at Norfolk Island to that of New South Wales had never been doubted. The following account of the last year's crop was transmitted by Lieutenant-Governor King:

From November, 1792, to November, 1793, the crop of maize amounted to—3,247 bushels; wheat, 1,302 bushels; calavances, 50 bushels.



Purchased in the above time from settlers and others, at five shillings per bushel, 3,600 bushels.

Reserved by them for seed—3,000 bushels of maize, 300 bushels of wheat, 300 bushels of calavances, and 50 tons of potatoes. Which, together with three hundred and five bushels of maize brought from thence with the detachment of the New South Wales corps at the relief in March, made a total of 10,152 bushels of maize, 1,602 bushels of wheat, 350 bushels of calavances, 50 tons of potatoes, raised on Norfolk Island in one twelve-month, on about two hundred and fifty-six acres of ground.

Of this crop, and of what had been purchased, there remained in the public stores, when the schooner left the island, forty-three weeks' maize and wheat; in addition to which, the Lieutenant-Governor supposed that he should have that season, after reserving five hundred bushels for seed, sufficient of that article for the consumption of six hundred and ninety-nine persons\*, the whole number of people victualled there from the stores, for fourteen weeks, at the rate of ten pounds per man per week; and fifty-eight weeks' maize, at twelve pounds per week. He had besides, at the established ration, twelve weeks' beef, twenty-nine weeks' pork, five weeks' molasses, and thirty weeks' oil and sugar. The whole forming an abundance that seemed to place the evil hour of want and distress at too great a distance to excite much alarm or apprehension of its occurring there.

The settlement had been so healthy, that no loss by death had happened since their last account; and when the schooner sailed very few were sick. Only sixty-three persons had died in the last two years and sixty-three days; in which time ninety-five children had been born†. Every description of stock, except some Cape sheep which did not breed, was equally healthy as the inhabitants, and were increasing fast.

The two natives of New Zealand, who had been sent to Mr. King, having completed the purpose for which they had been sent (by giving such instruction in the process of preparing the flax-plant, that even with very bad materials a few

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\*The whole number in the settlement amounted to one thousand and eight persons.

†By the Commissary's books there were, on the 20th February, 1794, two hundred and fifty-four children in the three settlements at Port Jackson. On the 30th of January, by Lieutenant-Governor King's return, there were one hundred and forty-eight children at Norfolk, making a total of four hundred and two.



hands could manufacture thirty yards of good canvas in a week), and having manifested much anxiety, on the appearance of any ship, to return to their friends and native country, though treated with every attention and kindness that could dispel their fears and conciliate their good opinion, Mr. King thought this a favourable opportunity of gratifying their wishes (the "Britannia" having called at the island in her way to Bengal). That they might not experience on the voyage any interruption to the good treatment which they had hitherto met with, he determined to accompany them himself, and accordingly embarked on board the "Britannia," with a guard from the New South Wales corps, and sailed for New Zealand on the 9th. Their passage was short; for on the fourth day the two natives were landed among some of their friends, though not exactly at the district in which their families and kindred resided (the Bay of Islands); and Mr. King returned to Norfolk Island on the 18th.

Mr. King found himself compelled to send by the "Francis" ten soldiers, of the detachment of the New South Wales corps on duty there, under a charge of mutinous behaviour. A jealousy which had grown up between the soldiers and free-men, settlers and others, occasioned by some acts of violence, and improper behaviour on either side, broke out at a place in which the Lieutenant-Governor had permitted plays to be represented by the convicts, as an innocent recreation after labour. Mr. King, who was present, having thought it necessary to order one of the soldiers into confinement when the play was ended, the detachment repaired to their own commanding officer, and demanded the release of their comrade. On his declaring his inability to comply with such a request, they signified a resolution to release him themselves; upon which the officer remonstrated with them, and they dispersed. It did not appear that they made any attempts to release the prisoner; but when the Lieutenant-Governor was made acquainted with the above circumstances, he convened all the officers in the settlement, and laid before them what he had heard, together with an account of a determination among the soldiers, to release from the halberts any of their comrades who should be ordered to punishment for any offence or injury done to a settler; all of which he had caused to be authenticated upon oath. The result of this meeting was, that the detachment should be disarmed, and that the settlers late of the marines, and ship's company, should be embodied and



armed as a militia. This resolution was accordingly put in execution, by sending the detachment from their quarters unarmed, upon different duties, while the new-raised militia took possession of their arms. On their return, twenty were selected as mutineers to be sent to Port Jackson, the remainder returning to their duty immediately (but of that number ten were, after a few days' confinement, pardoned and liberated); and two days after Mr. King had restored good order in the settlement the "Francis" appeared. By her he sent the ten prisoners, under the guard of an officer and as many soldiers as the vessel could conveniently receive.

A court of enquiry, composed of the officers of the regiment at Sydney, was assembled on the arrival of the "Francis," to examine into the complaint which had accompanied the soldiers; when, after five days' deliberation, they reported, that the conduct of the soldiers, in disobeying the orders of their officers, was reprehensible; but, on considering the provocations which had given birth to that disobedience, they recommended them to their commanding officer's clemency.

On the 27th, the schooner sailed a second time for Norfolk Island, to convey officers and soldiers in lieu of those who had been sent to Sydney, and without whom the detachment on duty there would have been too much weakened.

The natives again became troublesome. Twice they had attacked, robbed, and beaten, some of the settlers' wives, who were repassing between their farms and Parramatta; and great quantities of corn continued to be stolen by them. One of those women was so severely wounded by a party, who robbed and stripped her of part of her wearing apparel, that she lay for a long time dangerously ill at the hospital. It was said that the people who committed this and other acts of violence and cruelty were occasional visitors with others at Sydney.

Notwithstanding the woods were infested by these people, numbers of the male convicts, idle, and dreading labour as a greater evil than the risk of being murdered, absented from the new settlements, and, after wandering about for a few days, got at length to Sydney, almost naked, and so nearly starved, that in most cases humanity interfered between them and the punishment which they merited. They, in general, pleaded the insufficiency of their present ration to support a labouring man. At that period, it was true, the labouring convict was menaced with the probability of suffering greater want than



had ever been before experienced in the settlement. One fortnight more would see the public stores cleared of its last ounce of provisions. But even this situation, bad as it was, was still alleviated by the assistance that the officers, settlers, and others were able to afford to those whom they either retained in their service or occasionally hired for labour as they wanted them. Some who were off the store, and who well remembered their own distresses in the years 1789 and 1791, declared, that with a little industry, and being allowed the indulgence of going out in a boat, they could even at that time have earned a better subsistence than if they were employed by Government and fed from a full store. Nothing was lost; even the shark was found to be a certain supply; the oil which was procured from its liver was sold at one shilling the quart; and but very few houses in the colony were fortunate enough to enjoy the pleasant light of a candle.

The seed-wheat had as yet escaped, and might remain untouched for a fortnight. To lose that, would be to repel every advance which had been made toward supporting themselves, and to crush every hope of independence. All that had been done in cultivation, every acre which was preparing for the ensuing crop, would long have remained a memorial of their distress; and where existed the mind that could have returned to the labour of the field with that cheerful spirit or energy which would have been necessary to ensure future success?

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## CHAPTER XIII.

One serving of salt meat alone remained in the provision-store; and that was to be the food of only half a week. After that period the prospect was truly discouraging; for mere bread and water appeared to be the portion of by far the greater part of the inhabitants of these unfortunate settlements,—of that part too whose bodily labour must be called forth to restore plenty, and attain such a state of independence on the parent-country as would render delay or accident in the transport of supplies a matter of much less moment to the colony than it had hitherto been considered.

As at this time the stock of swine in the possession of individuals was rather considerable, some saving of the salt provisions, it was thought, might be made by purchasing sufficient to issue to the military. A quantity was therefore purchased by the Commissary, and issued in the proportion of four pounds and a half of fresh meat instead of three of salt.

Both public and private stock appeared to be threatened with destruction. The sheep and goats in the colony were not numbered far from one thousand. The cows had increased that species of stock by thirteen calves, which were produced in the last year. The exact number of hogs was not, nor could it well be, ascertained; it must, however, have been considerable, as every industrious convict had been able to keep one or more breeding sows. All this wore, indeed, the appearance of a resource; yet what would it all have been (admitting that an equal partition had been made) when distributed among upwards of three thousand people? But an equal partition of private stock, as most of this was such, could not have been expected. The officers holding this stock in their own hands would certainly take care to keep it there, and from it would naturally supply their own people. How far, in an hour of such distress, the convicts would have sat quietly down on their return from labouring in the field to their scanty portion of bread and water, and looked patiently on while others were keeping want and hunger at a distance by the daily enjoyment of a comfortable meal of fresh viands? was a question with many who thought of their situation.



Most happily, however, for all descriptions of people, they were not at this time to be put to the trial; for, on the 8th of March, at that critical moment when the doors of the provision-store had closed, and the convicts had received their last allowance which remained, the signal for a sail was made. A boat was sent down; but on its return at night they were told that a ship with English colours flying had stood into the harbour; but meeting with a heavy squall of wind at south, in which she split her fore-top-sail, was compelled again to put to sea. It was conjectured that she was a stranger; for if any person on board her had had any knowledge of the harbour, she might have run with much ease from the middle-head into safety in Spring Cove. The officer who went down unfortunately could not board her.

At night the wind increased, with much rain, and morning was anxiously looked for, to tell them where and who the stranger was. Nothing more, however, was known of her during that day, than that she was to be seen from the flag-staff; whence in the evening word was brought up, overland, that another vessel, a brig, was in sight.

Anxiety and curiosity, now strained to the utmost, were obliged to wait the passing of another night; but about three o'clock on Monday, the 10th, the wind and weather both changed; and, to the infinite satisfaction of the anxious expectants, the ship "William," from London, came to an anchor, and with her the "Arthur," a small brig of about ninety-five tons, from Bengal. The "William" had sailed from the river Thames on the first of July; whence she proceeded to Cork, where she took on board a cargo of beef and pork for the colony\*; but had not an ounce of flour. By her they learned, that Governor Phillip had reached England in safety. The natives Bennillong and Yem-mer-ra-wan-nie were well, but not sufficiently divested of the genuine natural love for liberty and their native country, to prefer London, with its pleasures and its abundance, to the woods of New South Wales. They requested that their wives might be taught to expect their return in the course of that year. Had it been possible to eradicate in any breast that love for the place of our birth, or where we have lived and grown from infancy to manhood, which is implanted in us by the kind hand of nature, it surely

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\*She had likewise on board a machine for dressing flour; a small quantity of iron; two pair of mill-stones, and some tools for smiths.



would have been effected on two natives of New Holland, whose country did not possess a single charm in the eye of a savage inhabitant of New Zealand\*; but here was a proof that, in every breast that sentiment is the same; and that a love for our native country is not the result of her being the seat of arts and arms, the residence of worth, beauty, truth, justice; of all the virtues that adorn and dignify human nature, and all the pleasures and enjoyments that render life valuable; but that it can be excited even in a land where wretchedness, want, and ignorance have laid their iron hands on the inhabitants, and marked with misery all their days and nights.

In the "William" arrived an assistant chaplain, to divide the religious duties of the colony with Mr. Johnson.

Had it been known on the evening of the 8th, when the report was received that the ship had been blown out to sea, that she contained so valuable a cargo as four months' beef and pork at full ration, how would their anxiety have been increased upon her account! Had she, as the "Justinian" had before, been blown off the coast for three weeks, how deeply would distress have been felt in these settlements!

The brig from Bengal had on board a small quantity of beef and pork; some sugar, Bengal rum, and coarse calicoes.

To the great surprise and regret of every inhabitant of Port Jackson, no account, at the time of the brig leaving Calcutta, had been heard of Mr. Bampton's arrival in any port in India. He had at his departure expressed a resolution of attempting a passage between New Holland and Guinea, in the hope of being, if successful, the first to establish a fact that would be attended with singular advantages to His Majesty's settlements in that part of the world. This intention increased the alarm for his safety; as Captain Bligh, of the happy conclusion of whose second voyage for the bread-fruit they now heard, was particularly instructed to survey the straits which separate New Holland from New Guinea; and by the accounts of his voyage which reached them they found, that the two ships, "Providence" and "Assistance," were twenty days from their entrance into the strait to their finding themselves again in an open sea. The navigation through this passage was described as the most dangerous ever performed by any navigator; nor was this all the hazard that they ran; for, from

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\*The New Zealanders who were taken to Sydney, expressed, both there and at Norfolk Island, the utmost abhorrence of the country and its inhabitants.



some of the islands, eight canoes formed the daring attempt of attacking the armed tender, and with their arrows killed one and wounded two of the seamen. Some of these canoes were sixty or seventy feet long, and in one of them were twenty-two persons.

This account excited many apprehensions for Mr. Bampton's safety. It was known that he had on board some articles of merchandize, which he meant to dispose of at Batavia; but by very late accounts received at Calcutta from that place, it appeared that he had not touched at that port. It was therefore more than probable, that both the "Shah Hormuzear" and the "Chesterfield" had been wrecked on some of the shoals with which the strait abounded, and that their officers and people, taking to their long-boats, had fallen sacrifice to the natives who had attacked the "Assistance," by the guns of which many had been wounded in their attempt to carry that vessel.

To the disappointment which the colony sustained from the failure of the contract already mentioned for cattle and provisions, which were to have been supplied them by Mr. Bampton, was added the regret which every thinking being must have felt on contemplating the calamitous moments which had, in all probability, brought destruction on so many of their fellow-creatures.

The master of the brig had met with Captain Patrickson, who had before carried a cargo on speculation to Sydney, and had actually loaded a ship with the intention of repeating his visit, but was prevented by some unaccountable apprehension that his venture would not be purchased.

The government of Bengal too had advertised for terms to freight a vessel for that country with cattle and provisions; but were diverted from the design by the equipment of the armaments which it was necessary to enter into at that time.

Thus had the infant colony of New South Wales still been doomed to be the sport of contingency, the jarring interests of men co-operating with the dangers of the sea to throw obstacles in the way of that long-desired independence which would free the mother-country from a heavy responsibility as well as expense, and would deliver the colonists from the constant apprehension under which they laboured, of being one day left to seek their subsistence among the woods of the country, or along the shores of its coast.



In consequence of these fortunate arrivals the full ration of salt meat was ordered; and the deficiency on the last serving days was completed to the full allowance. The last of the wheat was served on the 17th (a proper quantity being reserved for seed); and on the next provision-day ten pounds of Indian corn was substituted instead of the allowance of wheat. Nothing but dire necessity could have induced the gathering and issuing of this article in its unripened state, the whole of it being soft, full of juice, and wholly unfit to grind. Had the settlers, with only a common share of honesty, returned the wheat which they had received from Government to sow their grounds the last season, the reproach which they drew upon themselves, by not stepping forward at such a moment to assist Government, would not have been incurred; but though, to an individual, they all knew the anxiety which everyone felt for the preservation of the seed-wheat, yet when applied to, and told (in addition to the sum of ten shillings per bushel) that any quantity which they might choose to put into the store should be brought from their farms without any expense of carriage to them, they all, or nearly all, pleaded an insufficiency to crop their own ground; a plea that was well known to be made without a shadow of truth. In consequence of this refusal, (for their excuses amounted to as much,) the Lieutenant-Governor directed all those settlers whose limited time for being victualled from the public stores had expired, to be struck off the provision-list: a very just punishment for their ingratitude; as every accommodation had constantly been afforded them which was consistent with the situation of the colony. It was, however, now seen, that they were not the description of settlers from whom, whatever indulgences they might receive, Government had any assistance to expect; their principal object was, to serve their own immediate interest; and, to serve that, they could forget every claim which the public had upon them.

A new mill, made by a convict, was completed and set to work about the time of the "William's" arrival. At first it went rather heavily; but in a few days, with the labour of nine men, it ground sixty-three pounds of wheat in seventeen minutes.

A circumstance now occurred, which gave some proof that the force of good example had been felt by one of the natives, a youth named Ca-ru-ey, who from long residence in the colony had contracted some of the distinctions between good and ill;



for, on perceiving some convicts gathering and secreting Indian corn out of a garden, and knowing that acts of that nature were always punished, he instantly gave an account of what he had seen, in time to secure the offenders on the spot, with the corn in their possession. As he made no secret of what he had done, it was apprehended that some revenge might, if they were punished, be levelled at him on a future opportunity: they were therefore pardoned; but Ca-ru-ey was nevertheless applauded and recompensed for his attention and honesty.

On the third of April the "Dædalus" returned, with part of the stores that she had on board at the time of her leaving Port Jackson, Captain Vancouver not having room for them in his ship. The native who had accompanied Mr. Hanson returned with him, and had conducted himself with the greatest propriety during the voyage, readily complying with whatever was required of him. The King of Owhyhee earnestly wished to detain him on the island, making splendid offers to Mr. Hanson, of canoes, warlike instruments, and other curiosities, to purchase him; but if Mr. Hanson had been willing to have left him, Collins would not have consented, being very anxious to return to New South Wales.

He did not appear to have acquired much of the English language during his excursion; but seemed to comprehend a great deal more than he could find words to express.

On his arrival at Sydney he found his wife, whom he had left in a state of pregnancy, in the possession of another native, a very fine young fellow. The circumstance of his return, and the novelty of his appearance, being habited in the English dress, and very clean, drew many of his countrymen about him; and among others his rival and his wife. The husband and the gallant eyed each other with indignant sullenness, while the poor wife (who had recently been delivered of a female child) appeared terrified, and as if she knew not which to cling to as her protector, but expecting that she should be the sufferer, whether ascertained to belong to her former or present master. A few days, however, determined the point: her travelled husband shivered a spear with the lover, who was wounded in the contest, and the wife became the prize of the victor; who, after thus ascertaining his right by arms, seemed indifferent about the reward; and was soon after seen traversing the country in search of another wife.

By the return of the "Francis" from Norfolk Island, Lieutenant-Governor King reported, that his second crop of Indian



corn had been so productive that he was enabled to make an offer of sending five thousand bushels of that article to Sydney, if required.

Notwithstanding the ill success which had hitherto attended the endeavours of the Irish convicts stationed at Toongabbe and Parramatta to find a way from those places to China, a few of them were again hardy enough to attempt effecting their escape, and getting thither, in a small boat which they took from a settler. They had furnished themselves with some provisions; but the wretchedness of their boat must have ensured to them the same end which certainly befel Tarwood and his companions, particularly as it blew a gale of wind the day succeeding their departure; and, no account having been received of them from that day, the 12th, to the end of the month, it was supposed that they had perished.

From the settlement on the banks of that river the best reports continued to be received from time to time: everywhere the settlers found a rich black mould of several feet depth; and one man had in three months planted and dug a crop of potatoes. The natives, however, had given them such interruption as induced a necessity for firing upon them, by which, it was said, one man was killed.

At Toongabbe, where the Indian corn was growing, their visits and their depredations were so frequent and extensive, that the watchmen were compelled to fire on them; and one party, considerable in number, after having been driven off, returning directly to the plunder, was pursued by the watchmen for several miles, when a contest ensued, in which the natives were worsted, and three of them left dead upon the spot. The watchmen, apprehensive lest their story, like many of the same nature which they had told, should be doubted, brought in with them, as a testimonial not to be disputed, the head of one of those whom they had slain. With this witness to support them, they told many wonderful circumstances of the pursuit and subsequent fight, which they stated to have taken place at least fourteen miles from the settlement, and to have been very desperately and obstinately sustained on the part of the natives. It was remarked, however, that not one of the watchmen had received the smallest injury, a circumstance that threw a shade over their story which led their hearers to believe that they had magnified their valour, and the humane part of them to hope that they had at least trebled the deed of slaughter which they had actually committed.



Whatever might have been the truth, it was certain that a party of natives appeared the following day about the corn-grounds, but conducted themselves with a great deal of caution, stationing one of their party upon the stump of a tree which commanded an extensive view of the cultivated grounds, and retreating the instant they perceived themselves to be observed.

At Sydney a large party of natives assembled for the purpose of burning the body of Carradah, the native mentioned in the transactions of the month of December, by the name of Midjer Rool. He had been put to death while asleep in the night by some people who were inimical to his tribe; and the natives who witnessed the performance of the last rite assured the inhabitants, that when the murderers should be discovered several severe contests would ensue. It was at this time that the rencounter between Collins and Wyatt took place; and some other points of honour which remained unsettled, were then determined, not without much bloodshed, though no one was killed.

Near four hundred acres were in the course of April sown with wheat on the public account, the price of which article was at the time twenty shillings a bushel. The crops of Indian corn had in general turned out very productive: some on the light sandy soil yielded fifty bushels of shelled corn per acre, and a patch of Kaffir corn growing in the like soil, produced as much. This grain had been brought from the Cape of Good Hope, and was found to answer well for fattening of stock. No one having attempted to separate the farinaceous part of the grain from the husk, which was of an astringent quality, no judgment had been formed of its utility as a flour; but some who had ground it and mixed the whole together into a paste pronounced it to be equal to any preparation of oatmeal.

The convict's grinding machine, a walking mill on a larger construction than that which had failed at Parramatta, was set in motion; but it was found from the variety and number of the wheels, that something was constantly wrong about it. Finding, after a fair trial, that it was imperfect, it was relinquished, and one on a different construction, and made by a different person, was preferred.

An inflammation of the eyes was generally prevalent among all descriptions of people at this time. It raged at first among children; but when it got into a house, scarcely any person in it escaped the complaint. It was accounted for by the variable weather which had prevailed.



The permission given to officers to hold lands had operated powerfully in favour of the colony, which was, in the opinion of most people, now making rapid strides towards that independence so long, and hitherto so vainly, wished for. These gentlemen were liberal in their employment of people; and such had been their exertions, that it appeared by a survey taken in the last month, that nine hundred and eighty-two acres had been cleared by them since that permission had been received; and it further appeared, that there had been cleared since Governor Phillip's departure in December 1792, two thousand nine hundred and sixty-two acres. It must here be remembered, that the colony had been supplied with no other grain than that raised within itself from the 16th day of December, 1793.

Some natives, who had observed the increasing number of the settlers on the banks of the Hawkesbury, and had learned that they were solicitous to discover other fresh-water rivers, for the purpose of forming settlements, assured them, that at no very great distance from Botany Bay, there was a river of fresh water which ran into the sea. As this was thought not to be improbable, two men of the military, who were deemed of sufficient judgment and discretion for the purpose, were sent out well armed and furnished with provisions for a week. They set off from the south shore, and were accompanied by a native, as a guide, who professed a knowledge of the country, and named the place where the fresh water would be found to run. Great expectations were formed of this excursion, from the confidence with which the native repeatedly asserted the existence of a fresh water river. On the 20th, however, the party returned, with an account, that the native had very soon walked beyond his own knowledge of the country, and trusted to them to bring him safe back; that having penetrated about twenty miles to the southward of Botany Bay, they came to a large inlet of the sea, which formed a small harbour. The head of this they rounded, without discovering any river of fresh water near it. The country they described as high and rocky in the neighbourhood of the harbour, which, on afterwards looking into the chart, was supposed to be somewhere about Reed Point. The native returned with the soldiers, as cheerfully and as well pleased as if he had conducted them to the banks of the first river in the world.

An excursion of a different nature was at this time framing among some discontented Irish convicts, and was on the point



of being carried into execution when discovered. Among those who had arrived in the last ships from Ireland, was a convict who had been an attorney in that kingdom, and who was weak enough to form the hazardous scheme, with several others, of seizing a long-boat, in which they were to endeavour to reach Batavia. A quantity of provisions, water-casks, sails, and other necessary articles, were provided, and were found, at the time of making the discovery, in the house of the principal. These people had much greater reason to rejoice at, than to regret, the discovery of their plot; for the wind, on the day succeeding the night in which they were to have gone off, blew a heavy gale; and, as there were no professed seamen in the party, it was next to impossible but that the boat must be lost. The greatest evil that attended these desertions was the loss of the boats which were taken off; for the colony could not sustain much injury by the absence of a few wretches who were too idle to labour, and must be constantly whispering their own discontents among the other convicts.

On the 24th of May, the inhabitants of this hitherto ill-omened country had the satisfaction of seeing the "Indispensable," a store ship, anchor in the cove from England, with a cargo consisting principally of provisions for the colony. From her they understood that she was the first of six or seven ships which were all to bring out stores and provisions, and which, if no accident happened in the passage, might be expected to arrive in the course of two months. The supply of clothing and provisions intended to be conveyed by them, together with what had been received by the "William," was calculated for the consumption of a twelvemonth. The quantity which had now arrived formed a supply of flour for twelve weeks, beef for four weeks, pork for four weeks, and of pease for fourteen weeks. She had left Spithead on the 26th of December, touched at Teneriffe and at the Cape of Good Hope, where the master had met with the "Chesterfield," which had left Port Jackson in April, 1793, with the "Shah Hormuzear"; and one of her people, who had formerly been a convict at Sydney, wishing to return to that country, they now collected from him some information respecting Mr. Bampton's voyage. He told them, that the two ships were six months in their passage to Timor, owing to the difficulty which they had met with in the navigation of the Straits between New Holland and New Guinea. On one of the islands in these straits they lost a boat, which had been sent on shore to trade



with the natives. In this boat went, never to return, (according to this person's account,) Captain Hill, of the New South Wales corps, who was a passenger in the "Shah Hormuzear"; Mr. Carter, a friend of Mr. Bampton's; Shaw, the first mate of the "Chesterfield"; Ascot, who had been a convict, and two or three black people belonging to the "Shah Hormuzear." It was conjectured that they were, immediately after landing, murdered by the natives, as the people of a boat that was sent on shore some hours after to look for them found only the clothes which they had on when they left the ship, and a lantern and tinder-box which they had taken with them: the clothes were torn into rags. At a fire they found three hands; but they were so black and disfigured by being burnt, that the people could not ascertain whether they had belonged to black or white men. If the account of this man might be credited, the end of these unfortunate gentlemen and their companions must have been truly horrid and deplorable; it was certain, however, that the ship sailed from the island without them, and their fate was left in uncertainty, though every possible effort to discover them was made by Mr. Bampton.

At Timor Mr. Bampton took in a very valuable freight of sandalwood, with which he proceeded to Batavia; and when the "Chesterfield" parted company, he hoped soon to return to Port Jackson.

In consequence of the supplies received by the "Indispensable," the full ration of flour was directed to be issued, and the Commissary was ordered not to receive for the present any more Indian corn that might be brought to sale.

The arrival of the "Britannia" on the first of June gave general satisfaction, as many doubts about her safety had been created by some accounts which the master of the "Indispensable" had heard at the Cape of Good Hope, of the Bay of Bengal being full of French privateers. They learned from Mr. Raven, that he had been forced to go to Batavia instead of Bengal, having been attacked in the Straits of Malacca by a fleet of piratical proas, which engaged him for six hours, and from whom he might have found some difficulty to escape, had he not fortunately killed the captain of one of them when in the act of making preparations for boarding him. At Batavia he was informed, that his passage to Bengal was, by the number of French privateers which infested the Bay, rendered very precarious; he therefore determined to load the



"*Britannia*" at Batavia, and, after some necessary arrangements with the Governor-General and Council, purchased a cargo consisting of beef, pork, sugar and rice.

At Batavia Mr. Raven learned, that the "*Shah Hormuzear*" sailed from thence to Bombay three months before he arrived there; and the report given by the late convict of the disaster which befel the boat and people from that ship, in the passage through the Straits between New South Wales and New Guinea, was confirmed at Batavia. As, however, Mr. Bampton had not since been heard of, it seemed more than probable that he had fallen a prize to some of the privateers which were to be met with in those seas.

On the 8th, the "*Speedy*," a storeship commanded by Mr. Melville, arrived with stores and provisions from England: and on the 14th, the "*Haleyon*," a ship from Rhode Island, loaded on speculation with provisions and spirits, anchored in the Cove.

Mr. Page, the master, had made his passage from Rhode Island in one hundred and fifteen days, and without touching at any port. This gentleman, who had before speculated in that country, had in his return from thence stopped at the Island of Tinian, which place he now represented as well calculated to furnish a freight of cattle for the colony. Of the conduct of several convicts whom he had taken home with him he gave no favourable account, nor any hope that they were reformed by having paid the penalty of their former crimes.

Captain Page at first thought he had come to a bad market with his provisions at least; for the day was at last arrived when the colonists found themselves enabled to say that they were not in any want of any casual supplies; but by the end of the month he declared himself satisfied with the voyage that he had made.

It may safely be pronounced, that the colony had never before worn so favourable an appearance as at this period: the public stores filled with wholesome provisions; five ships on the seas with additional supplies; and wheat enough in the ground to promise the realizing of many a golden dream; a rapidly increasing stock; a country gradually opening, and improving everywhere upon the beholders as it opened; with a spirit universally prevalent of cultivating it.

The ships which had lately arrived from England were fraught with the dismal and ill-founded accounts, which, through some evil design, continued to be insidiously propagated, of the wretched unprofitable soil of New South Wales.



It was hoped, however, that when the present appearance and state of the colony should reach England, every attempt to mislead the public would cease, and such encouragement be held out as would induce individuals to settle in the country.

In the "Halcyon" had arrived an American gentleman (Mr. W. Megee) in character of supercargo. This person, on seeing the Toongabbe hills covered with a most promising crop of wheat, declared that he had never seen better in America, even at Rhode Island, the garden of that part of the world; and, on being shown some Indian corn of the last year's growth, gave it as his opinion, that they wanted nothing but large herds of grazing cattle, to be a thriving, prosperous, and great colony, possessing within itself all the essential articles of life.

Every possible care continued to be taken of the grazing cattle; by an account of which, taken at the close of June, the following appeared to have been their numbers, including public and private property:—

Mares, 11; stallions, 9; male asses, 4; female asses, 2; bulls, 15; cows, 25; ewes, 316; rams and wethers, 210; female goats, 352; male goats, 170; and of hogs there were supposed to be several hundred.

In addition to several most daring burglaries, a highway robbery had been committed in the course of the month. This was a species of depravity hitherto unknown in that country; and might, perhaps, be deemed one step towards refinement, as being at least a more manly mode of taking property, than that which the pilfering dark-loving knaves adopted. The present, like the meaner acts of villainy, had its source in the same vice, namely, gaming, which was still pursued with the utmost avidity and the most dexterous management; insomuch that they almost constantly defeated the peace-officers.

Among the few who had died in June was a convict of the name of Gillies. His death took place on the morning of the "Speedy's" arrival from England; by which ship a letter was received addressed to him, admonishing him of the uncertainty of life, recommending him early to begin to think of the end of it, and acquainting him with the death of his wife, a child, and two other near relations. He had ceased to breathe a few moments before this distressful intelligence would otherwise have reached him.

On the 5th of July another American ship from Rhode Island was announced, having on board a cargo of salted provisions and spirits, on speculation. The master of this vessel



was uncle to the master of the "Halcyon"; and, being at enmity with him, the former had determined after his departure to precede him in his arrival at Port Jackson; which the "Hope" being to touch at the Falkland Islands enabled him to do with all the success that he could have wished, the market being too well supplied to admit of any purchasers of his venture, except for his spirits; and this article was sold at half the price which had been given to his relation.

On the 8th the "Indispensable" and "Halcyon" sailed on their respective voyages, the former for Bengal, and the latter for Canton. By the latter some dispatches were sent, to be forwarded by the way of China to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the home department. On the day following the departure of those ships, the "Fancy" snow arrived from Bombay, having on board a small quantity of rice and dholl, intended as a part of the contract entered into by Captain Bampton, who, they now learned, had arrived safely at Bombay, after a long passage of seven months. Mr. Dell the master of this vessel, had been Mr. Bampton's chief mate in the "Shah Hormuzear," and from him the following information was obtained:—

The ships "Shah Hormuzear" and "Chesterfield" sailed, as before related, from Norfolk Island on the 27th of May, 1793. On the 2nd of the following month they fell in with an island which obtained the name of Tate's Island, and at which they had the misfortune to stave a boat. The circumstances of the murder of Captain Hill, Mr. Carter, Shaw, and the boat's crew, were related by Mr. Dell. It appeared from his account, that they had landed to search for fresh water, and purposed remaining one night on the island to barter with the natives, to procure emu feathers from them. The day after they were put on shore the weather changed, coming on to blow hard; the ship was driven to leeward of the bay in which they landed; and it was not until the third day that it was possible to send a boat after them. Mr. Dell was himself employed on this occasion, and returned with the melancholy account of his being unable to discover their lost companions. An armed force was sent on shore, but succeeded only in burning the huts and inclosures of the natives. At a fire they found some incontestable proofs that their friends could not be living; of three human hands which they took up, one, by some particular marks, was positively thought by Mr. Dell to have belonged to Mr. Carter; their great coats were found with the buttons



cut off; a tinder-box, a lantern, a tomahawk, and other articles from the boat, were also discovered; but though they rowed entirely round the island, looking into every cove or creek, the boat could not be seen. Mr. Dell was, if possible, to procure two prisoners; but he could not succeed. In the intercourse, which he had with them, however, they gave him to understand by signs, that they killed all who were in the boat, except two; at least, so Mr. Dell thought; but if it was so, nothing could be hoped from the exception, nor could any other conclusion be formed, than that they were reserved perhaps for more deliberate torture, and an equally horrid end.

This island was described as abounding with the red sweet potato, sugar-cane, plantains, bamboo, coco-trees, and mangroves. The natives appeared stout, and were in height from five feet eight to six feet two inches; their colour dark, and their language harsh and disagreeable. The weapons which were seen were spears, lances made of a hard black wood, and clubs about four feet in length. They lived in huts resembling hay-cocks, with a pole driven through the middle, formed of long grass and the leaves of the coco-tree. These huts might contain six or eight persons each, and were inclosed with a fence of bamboo. In a corner of some of the huts which they entered, they perceived a wooden image, intended to resemble a man; in others the figure of a bird, very rudely carved, daubed with red, and curiously decorated with the feathers of the emus; over these images were suspended from the roof several strings of human hands, each string having five or six hands on it. In some they found small piles of human skulls; and in one, in which there was a much larger pile of skulls than in any other that they had visited, they observed some gum burning before a wooden image.

This island was supposed to be about eight miles in length, five in breadth, and fifteen in circumference; a coral reef seemed to guard it from all approach, except on the north-west part, which formed a bay, where the ship anchored in thirteen fathoms of water. Fresh water was seen only in one place.

Mr. Bampton did not arrive at Timor until the 11th of September, having been detained in the Straits by a most difficult and dangerous navigation. By this passage he had an opportunity of discovering that the Straits, which were named after Torres, and supposed to have been passed first by him in the year 1606, and afterwards by Green in 1722, could never



have existed; for Mr. Bampton now observed, that New Guinea extended ninety miles to the southward of this supposed track.

The villains who had broken into Mr. Kent's house, had the audacity to send that gentleman a letter in miserable verse, claiming to themselves the honour of having been the robbers of the parson's store-room. The letter was accompanied by a pocket-book belonging to Mr. Kent, with some of his papers; but none of the bills which were in it when it was stolen were returned. The insolence of this proceeding, and the frequency of those nocturnal visits, surprised and put all persons upon their guard; but that the enemy was within their own doors there was no doubt. An honest servant in that country was an invaluable treasure; they were compelled to take them, as chance should direct, from among the common herd; and if any one was found who had some remains of principle in him, he was sure to be soon corrupted by the vice which everywhere surrounded him. The state of the colony called loudly for reform or punishment. The criminal court was summoned; and two notorious offenders were condemned and executed; another was severely punished; but on being taken down from the halberts declared, with exultation, that all they could do should not make him better.

The "Britannia" was hired by the officers of the civil and military departments, to procure them cattle and other articles at the Cape of Good Hope.

During the month a building, consisting of four cells for prisoners, which had been greatly wanted, was added to the guard-house.

A passage over the inland mountains, which form the western boundary of the county of Cumberland, being deemed practicable, a seaman (formerly quarter-master in the "Sirius") set off in August, with a companion or two, determined to try it. After seven days absence they returned, with an account of their having penetrated twenty miles further inland than any other European. Hacking, the seaman, reported, that on reaching the mountains, his further route lay over eighteen or nineteen ridges of high rocks; and that when he halted, determined to return, he still had in view before him the same wild and inaccessible kind of country. The summits of these rocks were of iron-stone, large fragments of which had covered the intermediate valleys, in which water of a reddish tinge was observed to stagnate in many spots. The soil midway up the ascent appeared good, and afforded shelter



and food for several red kangaroos. The ground everywhere bore signs of being frequently visited by high winds; for on the sides exposed to the south and south-east it was strewn with the trunks of large trees. They saw but one native in this desolate region, and he fled from their approach, preferring the solitary enjoyment of his rocks and woods, with liberty, to any intercourse with them. These hills appearing to extend very far to the northward and southward, an impassable barrier seemed fixed to the westward, and little hope was left of extending cultivation beyond the limits of the county of Cumberland.

By the return of the "Francis" schooner from Norfolk Island, it appeared that the harvest had been prodigiously productive; insomuch that Lieutenant-Governor King had purchased from the settlers upwards of eleven thousand bushels of maize; and bills for the amount were drawn by him in favour of the respective settlers; but, requiring the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Sydney, they were now sent thither. Mr. King had been partly induced to make this provisional kind of purchase, under an idea that the corn would be acceptable at Port Jackson, and also in compliance with the conditions on which the settlers had received their respective allotments under the regulations of Governor Phillip; that is to say, that their overplus grain and stock should be purchased from them at a fair market price. Being, however, well stocked with that article, the Lieutenant-Governor did not think himself justifiable in putting the crown to so great an expense, and declined accepting the bills. Mr. King could, had it been wanted, have furnished twenty thousand bushels of maize, much of which must now inevitably perish, unless the settlers would, agreeably to a notification which the Governor intended to send them, receive their corn again from the public stores, which did not appear very likely, as several of them had already given up their farms on the Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island refusing to purchase their second crops; and it was reported, that most of the marine settlers intended to follow their example.

This circumstance naturally gave rise to an inquiry, what would be the consequence if ever Government should, from farming on their own account, raise a quantity of wheat and maize sufficient for the consumption of those in the different settlements who were victualled by the crown? If such a system should be adopted, the settler would be deprived of



a market for his overplus grain, would find himself cut off from the means of purchasing any of those comforts which his family must inevitably require, and would certainly quit a country that merely held out to him a daily subsistence; as he would look, if he was ordinarily wise, for something beyond that. It might be said, that the settler would raise stock for the public; but Government would do the same, and so prevent him from every chance of providing for a family beyond the present day.

As it was desirable, that those settlers who had become such from convicts should remain in that country, the only inducement which they could have would be that of raising to themselves a comfortable independence for the winter of their own lives, and the summer of their own progeny. Government must therefore encourage the settler, let him be the farmer, and be itself the purchaser. The Government could always fix its own price; and the settler would be satisfied if it was such as enabled him to procure requisite comforts, and to lay by a portion of his emoluments for that day when he could no longer till the field with the labour of his own hands. With such encouragement and prospect, New South Wales would hold out a most promising field for the industrious; and might even do more: it might prove a valuable resource and acceptable asylum for many broken and reduced families, who, for want of it, become through misfortunes chargeable to their respective parishes.

The weather throughout the whole of August had been very unpleasant and turbulent. Much rain had fallen, and the wind blew strong at south. On the 25th, the hot land-wind visited them for the first time that season, blowing until evening with much violence, when it was succeeded (as usually happened after so hot a day) by the wind at south.

On the first of September the "*Britannia*" sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, on a second speculation for some of the gentlemen belonging to the settlement. The "*Speedy*" also sailed on her fishing voyage, the master intending not to consume any longer time in an unsuccessful trial of that coast.

The Lieutenant-Governor early in this month thought it necessary to issue a public order, calculated to impress conviction on the minds of those settlers and others at Norfolk Island, who might think themselves aggrieved by his late determination of not ordering payment to be made for the corn purchased of them by Lieutenant-Governor King. It



contained an assurance, that although he should on all occasions be ready to adopt any plan which the Lieutenant-Governor might devise for the accommodation or advantage of the inhabitants of Norfolk Island, yet in the late business he had made objections, because he did not consider himself authorised to ratify the agreement.

He proposed to those who held the bills, to take back their corn; or if they preferred leaving it in the public stores until such time as an answer could be received from the Secretary of State, he promised them that they might depend on the earliest communication of whatever might be his decision; and if such decision should be to refuse the payment of the bills, he assured them that grain should be returned equal in quantity and quality to what had been received from them\*.

How far the settlers (who in return for the produce of their grounds looked for something more immediately beneficial to them and their families, than the waiting eighteen months or two years for a refusal, instead of the payment of these bills) would be satisfied with this order, was very questionable. It has been seen already, that they were dissatisfied at the produce of their second crop not being purchased; what then must be their ideas on finding even the first received indeed, but not accounted for; purchased, but not paid for? It was fair to conclude, that on thus finding themselves without a market for their overplus grain, they would certainly give up the cultivation of their farms and quit the island. Should this happen, Lieutenant-Governor King would have to lament the necessity of a measure having been adopted, which in effect promised to depopulate his government.

On the 10th the "Resolution" and "Salamander" storeships arrived. Immediately on their anchoring the Governor was given to understand, that, from meeting with uncommonly bad weather between the Cape of Good Hope and Van Diemen's Land, the masters apprehended that their cargoes had sustained much damage. These gentlemen entered a protest, in which they stated that their ships were much strained; the main piece of the "Resolution's" rudder sprung, and the sails and rigging of both worn out. During a tremendous gale of wind, according to the superstitious seamen, and which they took care to insert in their protest, blue lights were seen dancing on each mast-head and yard in the "Salamander."

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\*Governor Hunter, on his arrival, ordered the bills to be paid; which was afterwards confirmed by the Secretary of State.



By these ships they learned His Majesty's appointment of John Hunter, Esq., to be Governor, in the room of Captain Phillip, who had resigned his office. Mr. Phillip's services, they understood, had been remunerated by a pension of five hundred a year.

On the 17th of the month there was a violent gale of wind at southwest; and at Parramatta, during the gale, a public granary, in which were upwards of two thousand four hundred bushels of shelled maize, caught fire, through the carelessness of some servants who were boiling food for stock close to the building; and all the corn, together with a number of fine hogs, the property of an individual, were destroyed.

Some severe contests among the natives took place during the month of August in and about the town of Sydney. In fact, the inhabitants still knew very little of the manners and customs of these people, notwithstanding the advantage which they possessed in the constant residence of many of them, and the desire that they showed of cultivating their friendship. At the Hawkesbury they were not so friendly; a settler there and his servant were nearly murdered in their hut by some natives from the woods, who stole upon them with such secrecy, as to wound and overpower them before they could procure assistance. A few days after this circumstance, a body of natives attacked the settlers, and carried off their clothes, provisions, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. The sufferers collected what arms they could, and, following them, seven or eight of the plunderers were killed upon the spot. This mode of treating them had become absolutely necessary, from the frequency and evil effects of their visits; but whatever the settlers of the river suffered was entirely brought on them by their own misconduct: there was not a doubt but that many natives had been wantonly fired upon; and when their children, after the flight of their parents, have fallen into the settlers' hands, they have been detained at their huts, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of their parents to have them restored.

On the 26th, the "Dædalus" sailing with stores and provisions for Norfolk Island, two female natives, wishing to withdraw from the cruelty which they, with others of their sex, experienced from their countrymen, were allowed to embark in her, and were consigned to the care of the Lieutenant-Governor. One of them was sister to Bennillong; the other was connected with the young man his companion.



Perhaps they wished to wait in peace and retirement the arrival of those who were bound to protect them.

The month of October opened with the execution of a convict for house-breaking. He appeared sullen and hardened till brought to the tree, when he seemed greatly terrified, though he still persevered in refusing to confess his crime. On the day following this execution, information was received from Parramatta of a settler being stabbed to the heart by a convict named Hill, a butcher by trade. The prisoner, on his trial, attempted to set up an alibi for his defence; but the fact of killing being incontestably fixed upon him, as well as a great degree of malice which he had borne the deceased, he was condemned, and on the 16th suffered death; after which his body was dissected, according to his sentence.

On the 17th the "Mercury," an American brig, anchored in the cove from Falkland's Island. The master had nothing on board for sale, but brought the welcome tidings of his having seen the officers of the Spanish ship "Descuvierta" at that place. Being in want of biscuit, he made application to the Commodore Malaspina for a supply, proffering to settle the payment in any manner that he should choose to adopt; but the Commodore, after sending him a greater quantity than he had required, assured him that he was sufficiently satisfied in having assisted a ship, whose people, whether English or American, spoke the language of those gentlemen from whom himself and the officers of the ships under his command had received, while in New South Wales, such attention and hospitality. Mr. Barnet understood that the "Atrevida" was in the neighbourhood, and that no loss or accident had happened in either ship since they left Port Jackson.

Some accounts were received from the Hawkesbury, which corroborated the opinion that the settlers there merited the attacks which were from time to time made upon them by the natives; it being now said, that some of them had seized a native boy, and, after tying him hand and foot, had dragged him several times through a fire, until his back was dreadfully burnt, and in that state had thrown him into the river, where they shot at and killed him. Such a report could not be heard without being followed by the closest examination; when it appeared, that a boy had actually been shot when in the water, from a conviction, as they said, of his having been detached as a spy upon them from a large body of natives; and that he was returning to them with an account of their weakness;



there being only one musket to be found among several farms. No person appearing to contradict this account, it was admitted as a truth; though many still considered it as a tale invented to cover the true circumstance, that a boy had been cruelly and wantonly murdered by them.

The presence of some person with authority was become absolutely necessary among those settlers, who finding themselves freed from bondage, instantly conceived that they were above all restrictions.

The arrival of the "Surprise" transport took place on the 25th. She had on board sixty females and twenty-three male convicts, some stores and provisions, with three settlers for the colony. Among the prisoners were, Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot, four gentlemen lately convicted in Scotland of the crime of sedition (considered as a public offence), and transported for the same.

A guard, consisting of an ensign and twenty-one privates of the New South Wales corps, was on board the transport: six of these people were deserters from other regiments, and brought from the Savoy; one of them, it was understood, had been tried for mutiny, of an aggravated kind, at Quebec.

This mode of recruiting the regiment must have proved as disgusting to the officers as it was detrimental to the interests of the settlement. If the corps was raised for the purpose of protecting the civil establishment, and of bringing a counterpoise to the vice and crimes which might naturally be expected to exist among the convicts, it ought to have been carefully formed from the best characters; instead of which they now found a mutineer (a wretch who could deliberate with others, and consent himself to be the chosen instrument of the destruction of his sovereign's son,) sent among them, to remain for life, perhaps, as a check upon sedition, now added to the catalogue of their other imported vices.

The storeships being cleared of their cargoes, a survey was made upon such part of them as was damaged, which was found to be very considerable. A serving of slops was immediately issued to the male and female convicts.

After an absence of eight weeks, the "Dædalus" returned from Norfolk Island; and on board her, ten of the marine settlers, who had given up their grounds in consequence of the disappointment which they experienced with respect to the corn bills, and had entered into the New South Wales corps. By her it was understood that Phillip Island had been found



to answer extremely well for the purpose of breeding stock: some hogs, which were allowed to be placed there in August, 1793, the property of an individual, had increased so prodigiously, as to render the raising of hogs there on account of Government an object with the Lieutenant-Governor. The "Dædalus" immediately began preparations for her departure for England; and Lieutenant-Governor Grose signified his intention of quitting the settlement by that opportunity. This officer having set apart for each of the gentlemen who came from Scotland in the "Surprise" a brick hut, in a row on the east side of the coves, they took possession of their new habitations; and soon declared, that they found sufficient reason for thinking their situations "on the bleak and desolate shores of New Holland," not quite so terrible as in England they had been taught to expect.

Every preparation for accommodating the Lieutenant-Governor and his family being completed on board the "Dædalus," he embarked in the evening of the 15th. With him went the principal surgeon of the colony; also Mr. Bain, the chaplain of the New South Wales corps, and a surgeon's mate.

In the morning of the 24th of December the signal was made at the south-head for a vessel, which came in about three o'clock, and proved to be the "Experiment," a snow, from Bengal, laden with spirits, sugar, piece-goods, and a few casks of provisions; the speculation being suggested by the agent for the "Sugar Cane" and "Boddington." The "Experiment" had had a passage of three months from Calcutta. From Mr. E. M'Lellan, the master, the inhabitants of Port Jackson learned that a large ship, named the "Neptune," had been freighted with cattle, &c., in pursuance of the contract entered into with Mr. Bampton, and had sailed from Bombay in July; but was unfortunately lost in the river by sailing against the monsoon: when Mr. Bampton might be expected, therefore, was very uncertain.

The direction of the colony during the absence of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, devolving upon the officer highest in rank then on service in the colony, Captain William Paterson, of the New South Wales corps, on Christmas Day took the oaths prescribed by His Majesty's letters-patent. This officer, expecting every day the arrival of Governor Hunter, made no alteration in the mode of carrying on the different duties of the settlement now entrusted to his care and guidance.



At the latter end of the month a general muster was ordered of all the male convicts, together with the persons who had served their several terms of transportation, as well those residing at Sydney and Parramatta, as those on the banks of the river Hawkesbury. The following ration was also ordered the maize being nearly expended:—

To Civil, Military, and Free Settlers.—Eight pounds of flour, seven pounds of beef, (or seven pounds of pork,) five pints of pease, six ounces sugar.

To Male Convicts.—Four pounds of flour, seven pounds of beef, (or seven pounds of pork,) three pints of pease, six ounces sugar, three pints of rice.

A jail gang was also ordered to be established at Toongabbe, for the employment and punishment of all bad and suspicious characters.

Wheat was directed to be purchased from the settlers at ten shillings per bushel, much of that grain being found to have been blighted. The ground about Toongabbe was pronounced to be worn out, the produce of the last harvest not averaging more than six or seven bushels an acre, though at first it was computed at seventeen. The northern farms had also failed through a blight.

The loss by death in the year 1794 was, two settlers; four soldiers; one soldier's wife; thirty-two male convicts; ten female convicts, and ten children; making a total of fifty-nine persons.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

At the commencement of January, 1795, from the great numbers of labouring convicts who were employed in sundry works in the town of Sydney, and at the grounds about Peter-sham; of others employed with officers and settlers; of those who, their terms of transportation being expired, were allowed to provide for themselves; and of others who had been permitted to leave the colony;—public field-labour was entirely at a stand. The present commanding officer, wishing to cultivate the ground belonging to Government, collected as many labourers as could be got together, and sent a gang, formed of bricklayers, brick-makers, timber-carriage men, &c., &c., to Parramatta and Toongabbe, there to prepare the ground for wheat for the ensuing year. At the muster which had been lately taken, fifty people were found without any employment, whose services still belonged to the public; most of these were laid hold of, and sent to hard labour; and it appeared at the same time that some were at large in the woods, runaways and vagabonds.

On the day following, the colonial schooner sailed for the river, having on board a mill, provisions, &c., for the settlers there. A military guard was also ordered, the commanding officer of which was to introduce some regulations among the settlers, and to prevent, by the effect of his presence and authority, the commission of those enormities which disgraced that settlement.

In the course of the month, as a convict entered the door of his hut, he was bit in the foot by a black snake; the effect was, an immediate swelling of the foot, leg, and thigh, and a large tumour in the groin. The surgeon was fortunately able to reduce all those swellings by frequently bathing the parts with oil, and saved the man's life without having recourse to amputation. While the inhabitants had lived in a wood, and might naturally have expected to have been troubled with them, snakes and other reptiles were by no means so often seen, as since, by clearing and opening the country about them, the natives had not had opportunities of setting the woods so



frequently on fire. But now they were often met in the different paths about the settlements, basking at mid-day in the sunshine, and particularly after a shower of rain.

Much was heard and seen of the natives in the month of January. At the Hawkesbury a man had been wounded by some of the wood tribe. Two female natives were murdered not far from the town of Sydney during the night; and another victim, also a female, of Pe-mul-wy's party, having been secured by the males of a tribe inimical to him, was dragged into the woods, where they exercised every act of cruelty and brutal lust upon her, which their spirit of revenge suggested.

The principal labour performed in January was, preparing the ground for wheat. The Indian corn looked very well; and the settlers on the banks of the Hawkesbury supposed that at least thirty thousand bushels of that grain would be raised among them. Several native boys, from eight to fourteen years of age, were at this time living among the settlers in the different districts, and were found capable of being made extremely useful; going cheerfully into the fields to labour; and the elder ones with ease hoed in a few hours a greater quantity of ground than that generally assigned to a convict for a day's work. Some of these were allowed a ration of provisions from the public store.

In consequence of the heavy rains, the river at the Hawkesbury rose many feet higher than it had ever been known to do; by which several settlers suffered very much. At Toongabbe the wheat belonging to Government was considerably injured. At Parramatta the damage was extensive: the bridge over the creek, which had been well constructed, was entirely swept away, and the boats with their moorings carried down the river.

A convict had died in this month, having swallowed arsenic. It was remarkable in his untimely end, that he himself placed the poison with a view of destroying rats with which the house that he lived in was infested, and was particular in cautioning others against it. What could induce him to take that himself, of which he knew the ill effect upon those whom he had warned, no person seemed to have the power of determining.

Some officers who had made an excursion to the Hawkesbury early in February, with a view of selecting eligible spots for farms, on their return spoke highly of the corn which they saw growing there, and of the picturesque appearance of many of



the settlers' farms. Those people told them, that in general their grounds which had been in wheat had produced from thirty to thirty-six bushels an acre; that they found one bushel (or on some spots five pecks) of seed sufficient to sow an acre; and that, if sown as early as the month of April or May, they imagined the ground would produce a second crop, and the season be not too far advanced to ripen it. Their kitchen gardens were plentifully stocked with vegetables.

The master of the "Francis" schooner complained that the navigation of the river was likely to be hurt. The settlers having fallen many trees into the water, he was apprehensive that they would drift ashore on some of the points of the river, when, in process of time, sand, &c., might lodge against them, and form dangerous obstructions in the way of craft which might be hereafter used on the river. No doubt remained of the ill and impolitic conduct of some of the settlers toward the natives; as, in revenge for some cruelties which the savages had experienced, they threatened to put to death three of them by name, and had, through mistake, actually attacked and badly wounded others. These particulars were obtained through the means of one Wilson, a wild idle young man, who, his term of transportation being expired, preferred living among the natives in the vicinity of the river, to earning the wages of honest industry by working for settlers. He had formed something of an intermediate language between his own and theirs, with which he made a shift to comprehend most of what they wished to communicate; for they did not conceal the sense they entertained of the injuries which had been done them. As the gratifying of an idle wandering disposition was the sole object with Wilson in herding with these people, no good consequence was likely to ensue from it; and it was by no means improbable, that at some future time, if disgusted with the white people, he might join the blacks, and assist them in committing depredations, or make use of their assistance to punish or revenge his own injuries. Mr. Grimes, therefore, proposed taking him with him in the schooner to Port Stephens.

There were at this time several convicts in the woods subsisting by theft; and it having been reported, that three of them had been met armed, it became necessary to secure them as soon as possible. People were sent out immediately; and one of the wretched runaways was soon met with in the act of robbing a garden, and, refusing to surrender, was shot. The knowledge



of his fate drove the others to a greater distance from the settlement.

About the latter end of the month the natives adjusted some affairs of honour in a convenient spot near the brickfields. Those who lived about the south shore of Botany Bay brought with them a stranger of an extraordinary appearance and character; even his name had something uncommon in the sound, Gôme-boak. He had been several days on his journey from the place where he lived, which was far southward. In height he was not more than five feet two or three inches; but by far the most muscular, square, and well-formed native that had been seen in that country. He fought well; his spears were remarkably long, and he defended himself with a shield that covered his whole body. The inhabitants of Sydney had the satisfaction of seeing him engage with some of their friends, and of observing that neither their persons nor reputations suffered anything in the contest. When the fight was over, on some of the gentlemen praising to them the martial talents of this stranger, the strength and muscle of his arm, and the excellence of his sight, they admitted the praise to be just; but hinted, that, with all these excellencies, when opposed to them, he had not gained the slightest advantage; yet, unwilling to have him too highly thought of, they, with horror in their countenances, assured those with whom they talked, that Gôme-boak was a cannibal.

On the 1st of March the "Francis" returned from Port Stephens; when the master reported, that he went into two fresh-water branches, up which he rowed, until, at no very great distance from the entrance, he found them terminate in a swamp. He described the land on each side to be low and sandy, and had seen nothing while in that harbour which in his opinion could render a second visit necessary. The natives were so very unfriendly, that he made few observations on them, other than that they were somewhat taller and a stouter race of people than those about Sydney: their language was entirely different. Their huts and canoes were something larger, and their weapons were the same. They welcomed him on shore with a dance, joined hand in hand round a tree, to express, perhaps, their unanimity; but one of them afterwards, drawing Mr. Grimes into the wood, poised a spear, and was on the point of throwing it, when he was prevented by young Wilson; who, having followed Mr. Grimes with a double-barrelled gun, levelled at the native, and fired it. He was



supposed to be wounded, for he fell; but, rising again, he made a second attempt to throw the spear, and was again prevented by Wilson: the effect of this second shot was supposed to be conclusive, as he was not seen to rise any more. Mr. Grimes got back to his boat without further interruption.

The spirit of inquiry being on foot, an officer of the corps made an excursion to the southward of Botany Bay, and brought back with him some of the head bones of a marine animal, which, on inspection, Captain Paterson, the only naturalist in the country, pronounced to have belonged to that described by M. de Buffon, and named by him the Manatee.

On this excursion, the officer received some information which led him to believe that the cattle which had been lost soon after the settlement was formed, were still in existence. The natives who conversed with him were so particular in their account of having seen a large animal with horns, that he shortly after, taking some of them with him as guides, set off to seek them; but returned without success, not having met with any trace that could lead him to suppose that they might ever be found.

On the 4th of March the "Britannia" returned from the Cape of Good Hope, having been gone six months. Mr. Raven brought alive to his employers, one stallion, twenty-nine mares, three fillies, and twelve sheep.

Towards the end of March some of the English witnessed an extraordinary transaction which took place among the natives at the brickfields. A young man, of the name of Bing-yi-wan-ne, well known in the settlement, being detected in an amour with Maw-ber-ry, the companion of another native Ye-ra-ni-be Go-ru-ey, the latter fell upon him with a club, and being a powerful man, and of superior strength, absolutely beat him to death. Bing-yi-wan-ne had some friends, who on the following day called Ye-ra-ni-be to an account for the murder; when, the affair being conducted with more regard to honour than justice, he came off with only a spear-wound in his thigh.

The Toongabbe hills being reported to be worn out, it was determined to let them remain fallow for that season; and a spot called the Ninety Acres, and the hills between Parramatta and Toongabbe, which had before been prepared, were now sown. It being April, the farmers were everywhere putting their wheat into the ground, except at the river, where they



had scarcely made any preparations, consuming their time and substance in drinking and rioting; and trusting to the extreme fertility of the soil, which they declared would produce an ample crop at any time without much labour. So silly and thoughtless were these people, who were thus unworthily placed on the banks of a river which, from its fertility, and the effects of its inundations, might not improperly be termed the Nile of New South Wales.

From the reduced state of the salted provisions, it became necessary (such had been but too often the preamble to an order) to diminish the ration of that article; and half the beef and half the pork was stopped at once. In some measure to render this great reduction lighter, three pints of pease were added. This circumstance induced the commanding officer, on the day when the alteration took place, to hire the "Britannia" to proceed to India for a cargo of salted provisions. Supplies might arrive before she could return; but the war in which England was engaged increased the chances against them. In the meantime, to save the salt meat as much as possible, such fresh pork as was brought in good condition to the store was purchased and served in the proportion of two pounds of fresh in lieu of one of salt.

On the 21st of April the colonial schooner returned from the Hawkesbury, bringing upwards of eleven hundred bushels of remarkably fine Indian corn from the store there. The master again reported his apprehensions that the navigation of the river would be obstructed by the settlers, who continued the practice of falling the trees and rolling them into the stream. He found five feet less water at the store-wharf than when he had been there in February, owing to the dry weather which for some time past had prevailed.

At that settlement an open war seemed about that time to have commenced between the natives and the settlers; and word was received overland, that two of the latter had been killed by a party of the former. The natives appeared in large bodies, men, women, and children, provided with blankets and nets to carry off the corn, (of which they appeared as fond as those natives who lived at Sydney,) and seemed determined to take it whenever and wherever they could meet with opportunities. In their attacks they conducted themselves with much art; but where that failed, they had recourse to violence; and on the least appearance of resistance made use of their spears



or clubs. To check at once, if possible, these dangerous depredators, Captain Paterson directed a party of the corps to be sent from Parramatta, with instructions to destroy as many as they could meet with of the wood tribe (*Be-dia-gal*); and, in the hope of striking terror, to erect gibbets in different places, whereon the bodies of all they might kill were to be hung. It was reported that several of these people were killed in consequence of this order; but none of their bodies were found (perhaps if any were killed they were carried off by their companions): some prisoners, however, were taken and sent to Sydney; one man (apparently a cripple), five women, and some children. One of the women with a child at her breast had been shot through the shoulder, and the same shot had wounded the babe: every care was taken of them that humanity suggested. The cripple in a short time found means to escape, and by swimming reached the north shore in safety, whence no doubt he got back to his friends. Captain Paterson hoped that by detaining the prisoners, and treating them well, some good effect might result; but finding after some time that coercion, not attention, was more likely to answer his ends, he sent the woman back. While she had been at the settlement the wounded child died; and one of the women was delivered of a boy, which died immediately. On the soldiers withdrawing, the natives attacked a farm nearly opposite Richmond Hill, and put a settler and his son to death: the wife, after receiving several wounds, crawled down the bank, and concealed herself among some reeds half immersed in the river, where she remained a considerable time without assistance: being at length found, this poor creature, after having seen her husband and her child slaughtered before her eyes, was taken into the hospital at Parramatta, where she recovered, though slowly, of her wounds. In consequence of this horrid circumstance, another party of the corps was sent out; and while they were there the natives kept at a distance. This duty now became permanent; and the soldiers were distributed among the settlers for their protection: a protection, however, that many of them did not merit.

Pe-mul-wy, or some of his party, were not idle about Sydney; they even ventured to appear within half a mile of the brickfield huts, and wounded a convict who was going to a neighbouring farm. As one of the most frequented walks from the town lay in that direction, this circumstance was at first very unpleasant; but the natives were not seen any more.



On the 11th, the pleasant intelligence of Mr. Bampton's arrival from Bombay was dispersed through the settlement. He commanded the "Endeavour," a ship of eight hundred tons, and had on board one hundred and thirty-two head of cattle, a quantity of rice, and the other articles of the contract engaged in by Lieutenant-Governor Grose, except the salt provisions. She had been eleven weeks from Bombay. The cattle were, in general, in very good condition; of the number arrived, forty were for draught, sixty for breeding, and the remainder calves; but some of these so large, as to be valued and taken at fifteen guineas per head.

The 4th of June, as had ever been the custom in the settlement, was set apart as a holiday.

On the 18th the "Britannia" sailed for India. As the state of the settlement at her departure required every exertion to be made in procuring an immediate supply of provisions, Mr. Raven was directed to repair to Batavia, to procure, if possible, a cargo of European salted meat. The necessity of his immediate return was so urgent, that if he found on his arrival that only half the cargo could be had, he was to fill up the remainder of the stowage with rice and sugar, and make the best of his way back; but if salted provisions were not to be got at Batavia, he was to proceed to Calcutta. Should circumstances prove so adverse to the colony, as to cause his failure at both these ports, Mr. Raven was at liberty to return by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, as provisions were at any rate to be procured if possible.

The cattle lately arrived seemed to suffer by their change of climate; one cow and several calves died, perhaps as much from mismanagement as by the weather; for, with very few exceptions, it was impossible to select from among the prisoners, or those who had been such, any who would feel an honest interest in executing the service in which they were employed. They would pilfer half the grain entrusted to their care for the cattle; they would lead them into the woods for pasturage, and there leave them until obliged to conduct them in; they would neither clean them nor themselves. Indolent, and by long habit worthless, no dependence could be placed on them. In every instance they endeavoured to circumvent; and whenever their exertions were called for, they first looked about them to discover how those exertions might be turned to their own advantage. Could it then be wondered at, if little had been done since the establishment of the colony? And must



it not rather excite admiration to see how much had been performed? Whatever was to be seen was the effect of the most unremitting, and perhaps degrading vigilance on the part of those in whom the executive power had been from time to time vested; and of the interest that many individuals had felt, in raising that country from its original insignificance to some degree of consequence.

On the first of July, the salted provisions being all expended, except a few casks, these were reserved for the non-commissioned officers and privates of the corps. On Saturday, the 11th of the month, the convicts received the following ration:

Indian corn, 12 pounds (unground); rice, 5 pounds (unground); dholl, 3 pints; sugar, 1½ pound; being the first time since the establishment of the colony, that they had gone from the store without receiving either salted or fresh meat. On the following Monday the military received:

Salt pork, 2 pounds; Indian corn, 12 pounds (unground); pease, 3 pints; rice, 3 pints; sugar, 6 ounces.

This being the state of the stores, it is not wonderful that supplies were most ardently desired. It was truly unfortunate that Mr. Bampton had not been able to procure any salted provisions at Bombay, but in lieu thereof had supplied rice, which could well have been spared, as they now began to grow grain sufficient for their consumption from crop to crop, and grain which was at all times preferred to the imports from India. Dholl and rice were never well received by the prisoners as an equivalent for flour, particularly when pease formed a part of the ration; and it was to be lamented, that a necessity ever existed, of forcing upon them such trash as they had from time to time been obliged to digest.

The effects of this ration soon appeared; several attacks were made on individuals, one wretch stole a very fine greyhound, and, instead of secretly employing him in procuring occasionally a fresh meal, he actually killed the poor animal and sold it to different people in the town for kangaroo at ninepence per pound; probably applauding himself for a trick that he thought would go down with the hungry; but being detected in his villainous traffic, he was severely punished.

From the scantiness of salted provisions, the article of salt was become as scarce. One of the settlers lately arrived caused it to be reported, that among other useful knowledge, he possessed that of making salt from sea-water, and offered his services for that purpose. His offers were accepted, and



an eligible spot being chosen he began his operations, for which he had seven men allowed him; whose labour, however, only produced three or four bushels of salt in more than as many weeks.

On the 12th of August His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's birthday was celebrated by his distant, but not the less ardent, admirers.

Wilson, or as the natives termed him, Bun-bo-è, immediately after his return from Port Stephens with the deputy-surveyor, went off to the natives at the river. Another vagabond, who like himself had been a convict, thinking that there must be some sweets in the life which Wilson preferred, determined to share them with him, and went off to the woods. About the middle of the month they both returned to Sydney, accompanied by some of their savage companions. On the day following it appeared that their visit was for the purpose of forcing a wife from among their countrywomen; for in the midst of a considerable uproar, which was heard near the bridge, Wilson and Knight his friend were discovered, each dragging a girl by the arm (whose age could not have exceeded nine or ten years), assisted by their new associates. The two white men being secured, and the children taken care of, the mob dispersed; and Wilson and Knight were taken to the cells and punished. It was intended to have kept them in future at hard labour; but they found means to escape to those companions whom they preferred.

Towards the conclusion of August the natives were, during two days, engaged in very severe contests, in which much blood was shed, and many wounds inflicted; but no one was killed. It appeared to afford much diversion; for they were constantly attended by all descriptions of people, notwithstanding the risk they ran of being wounded by a random spear.

On the 26th, the settlement was gratified by the arrival of His Majesty's ship "Providence," of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Broughton, from England; from whence she sailed on the 25th of February, in company with His Majesty's ships "Reliance" and "Supply," which she left at Rio de Janeiro some time in May. On board the former of these vessels was Governor Hunter, who might be daily expected. The "Providence" met with very bad weather on her passage from the Brazil coast, and was driven past the harbour of Port Jackson as far to the northward as Port Stephens, in which she anchored; and where, to the great



surprise of Captain Broughton, he found and received on board four white people, (if four miserable, naked, dirty, and smoke-dried men could be called white,) runaways from Parramatta in the month of September, 1790, by name John Tarwood, George Lee, George Connoway, and John Watson: these the reader will recollect having before been mentioned as supposed victims to the folly of their undertaking. Their fifth companion (Joseph Sutton) had died. They told a melancholy tale of their sufferings in the boat; and for many days after their arrival they passed their time in detailing to the crowds, both of black and white people which attended, their adventures in Port Stephens, the first harbour that they made. Having lived like the savages among whom they dwelt, their change of food soon disagreed with them, and they were all taken ill, appearing to be principally affected with abdominal swellings. They spoke in high terms of the pacific disposition and gentle manners of the natives. Each of these had had a name given him, and given with several ceremonies. Wives also were allotted them, and one or two had children. They were never required to go out on any occasion of hostility, and were in general supplied by the natives with fish or other food, being considered by them (for so their situation only could be construed) as unfortunate strangers thrown upon their shore from the mouth of the yawning deep, and therefore entitled to their protection. They told a ridiculous story, that the natives appeared to worship them, often assuring them, when they began to understand each other that they were undoubtedly the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again; and one native appeared firmly to believe that his father was come back in the person of either Lee or Connoway, and took them to the spot where his body had been burnt. On being told that immense numbers of people existed far beyond their little knowledge, they instantly pronounced them to be the spirits of their countrymen, which, after death, had migrated into other regions.

It appeared from the account of these four men, that the language to the northward differed wholly from any that had been known at Port Jackson. Among the natives who resided there, there was none who understood all that they said; and of those who occasionally visited at Sydney, one only could converse with them. He was a very fine lad of the name of Wur-gun. His mother had been born and bred beyond the



mountains; but one luckless day, paying a visit with some of her tribe to the banks of the Dee-rub-bun (for so the Hawkesbury was named), she was forcibly prevented from returning; and, being obliged to submit to the embraces of an amorous and powerful Be-dia-gal, the fruit of her visit was this boy. Speaking herself more dialects than one, she taught her son all that she knew; and he, being of quick parts, and a roving disposition, caught all the different dialects from Botany Bay to Port Stephens.

Public labour was scarcely anywhere performed in August, owing to the extreme badness of the weather which prevailed. Accounts were received from the Hawkesbury, that several farms on the creeks were under water; and the person who was the bearer of the intelligence was nearly drowned in his way over a plain named the Race-Ground. Paling could nowhere stand the force of the storm. Several chimneys and much plaster fell, and every house was wet. At Parramatta much damage was done; and at Toongabbe (a circumstance most acutely felt) a very large barn and threshing-floor were destroyed, and several of the cattle lately arrived perished from the severity of the storm.

On the 3rd of September, after an absence of eleven weeks, the "Fancy" returned from Norfolk Island. The most favourable accounts were received by her from that settlement. Plenty reigned throughout. Every barn was full. Four thousand pounds of fresh pork having been cured, the Lieutenant-Governor had forty tons of salt provisions to spare; which he offered for the use of Port Jackson.

The 7th of the month was marked by the arrival of the Governor-in-Chief over these settlements. He came on board the "Reliance," and was accompanied by the "Supply." Situated as the colony was in point of provisions, they learned with infinite concern, that a storeship, from being too heavily loaded, had been compelled to return, and had yet to run the chance of being taken by the enemy's cruisers; and further, that by the two ships now arrived they had only gained a few barrels of meat salted at Rio de Janeiro; a town-clock, and the principal part of the large windmill.

His Excellency did not take upon him the exercise of his authority until the 11th; on which day His Majesty's commission was publicly read; after which His Excellency, in a very pertinent speech, declared the expectations that he had from every one's conduct; touching with much delicacy on that of



the persons lately sent out for a certain offence (some of whom were present); and strongly urging the necessity of a general unanimity in support of His Majesty's government. He was afterwards sworn in by the Judge-Advocate. An address, signed by the civil and military officers, on the occasion of his return among them as Governor, was presented to His Excellency a few days after his public appearance in that important capacity.

That he might as speedily as possible be acquainted with the state of the colony, he ordered a general muster to be taken, in order that correct accounts might be obtained of the number and distribution of every person (the military excepted) in the different districts; and he proposed in person to inspect the state of the several farms.

The "Endeavour" and "Fancy" sailed for India on the 18th. It was found, after their departure, that, notwithstanding so many as fifty persons, whose transportation had expired, had been permitted to leave the colony in the "Endeavour," nearly as many more had found means to secret themselves on board her. This was the more vexatious, as the loss of even one man's labour had become an object of consequence at this time.

The weather throughout the month had been very variable; and three women and two men had died.

On the 4th of October there came into harbour the "Young William," that store-ship whose return to port when Governor Hunter left England, had been so very much regretted in the colony. She had had a short passage of only four months and nine days, having on board provisions only. Her arrival enabled the Governor to issue a better, though not so ample a ration of provisions as he would most willingly have done.

The report of the general muster which had been ordered, having been laid before the Governor, he thought proper to make some regulations in the assistance afforded by Government to settlers and others holding grants of land. To the officers who occupied grounds, was continued the number of men allowed them by Lieutenant-Governor Grose; viz., ten for agriculture, and three for domestic purposes. Notwithstanding this far exceeded the number which had at home been thought necessary, the Governor did not conceive the present to be the moment for reducing it, much as he wanted men. A wheat harvest was approaching; ground was planting with Indian corn; not a man was unemployed; but he saw and



explained that a reduction must take place; that Government could not be supposed much longer to feed, maintain, and clothe the hands that wrought the ground, and at the same time pay for the produce of their labour, particularly when every public work was likely to stand still for want of labourers. He was sensible that the assistance which had been given had not been thrown away, and that the small number allowed by Government could never have produced such rapid approaches toward that independence which he thought, from what he had already seen of the cultivation of the country, was at that time much nearer than (at his leaving it in 1791) he could have conceived possible. To the settlers who came in the "Surprise" he allowed five male convicts; to the superintendents, constables, and store-keepers, four; to settlers from free people, two; to settlers from prisoners, one; and to sergeants of the New South Wales corps, one.

It appeared likewise by this muster, that one hundred and seventy-nine people subsisted themselves independent of the public stores, and resided in the town of Sydney. To many of these, as well as to the servants of settlers, were to be attributed the offences that were daily heard of; these people were indeed very great nuisances.

Every effort was made to collect together a sufficient number of working people to get in the ensuing harvest; and the muster and regulation-respecting the servants fortunately produced some. The bricklayer and his gang were employed in repairing the column at the south-head; to do which, for want of bricks at the kiln, the little hut built for Ben-nil-long, being altogether forsaken by the natives, the bricks of it were removed to the south-head. A person having undertaken to collect shells and burn them into lime, a quantity of that article was sent down; and the column, being finished with a thick coat of plaster, and whitened, was not only better guarded against the weather, but became a more conspicuous object at sea than it had ever been.

The 5th of November was doubly commemorated by the inhabitants of Port Jackson as a day of thankfulness, the "Sovereign" storeship arriving from England loaded with provisions. In this ship came several passengers as settlers, or to fill employments in the different settlements. There likewise came a prisoner, Mr. Joseph Gerald, whose situation afforded another melancholy proof of how little profit and honour were the endowments of nature and education to him



who perverted them. In this gentleman was seen, that not even elegant manners, evidently caught from good company, great abilities, and a happy mode of placing them in the best point of view, the gifts of nature matured by education, could (because he misapplied them) save him from landing an exile, to call him by no worse a name, on a barbarous shore, where the few who were civilized must pity, while they both admired and condemned him. He arrived in a very weak and impaired state of health. By this ship they learned that two others with convicts might be expected in the course of the summer.

On the 7th a criminal Court was assembled; when two convicts received sentence of death, and several were condemned to smaller punishments. On the 16th the two prisoners for execution were brought out. Smith, after warning the spectators to guard against breaking the sabbath, which he said had been the forerunner of his ruin, suffered. Whitehouse, being evidently the tool, and a much younger man, was pardoned by the Governor. His Excellency, after the execution, expressed in public orders, his "hope that neither the example which he had that day found himself compelled to make of one offender, nor the lenity which he had shown to another, would be without their effect: it would always be more grateful to him to spare than to punish; but he felt it necessary on that occasion to declare, that if neither the justice which had been done, nor the mercy which had been shown, tended to decrease the perpetration of offences, it was his determination in future to put into execution whatever sentence should be pronounced by the Court on the several offenders.

A small printing press, which had hitherto been useless from the want of a person who understood the art of printing, was now found very serviceable: a decent young man, of some abilities in that line, having lately arrived from England; which enabled the Governor, by having his orders printed, to make them more generally known.

Some time after the arrival of the "Sovereign," the full allowance of salt meat was issued, and the hours of labour regulated more to the advantage of Government than had for a considerable time (owing to the shortness of the ration) been the case. Instead of completing in a few hours the whole labour which was required of a man for the day, convicts were now to work the whole day, with the intermission of two hours and a half of rest. Many advantages were gained by this regulation; among which, not the least was, the diminution of idle



time which the prisoners before had, and which, emphatically terming their own time, they applied as they chose; some industriously, but by far the greater part in improper pursuits, as gaming, drinking, and stealing.

By the return of His Majesty's ship the "Supply" from Norfolk Island, accounts were received of Lieutenant-Governor King being dangerously ill when she left that place; and that cultivation was nearly at a stand there. The grounds were so overrun with two great enemies to agriculture, rats, and a pernicious weed called cow-itch, that the settlers despaired of ever being able to get rid of either.

The contests which had lately taken place very frequently in the town of Sydney, and the neighbourhood of it, among the natives, had been attended by many of those people who inhabited the woods, and came from a great distance inland. Some of the prisoners gathering from time to time rumours and imperfect accounts of the existence of the cattle lost in 1788, two of them, who were employed by some officers in shooting, resolved on ascertaining the truth of these reports, and trying by different excursions to discover the place of their retreat. On their return from the first outset they made, which was subsequent to the Governor's arrival, they reported that they had seen them. Being, however, at that moment too much engaged in perfecting the civil regulations which he had in view for the settlement, His Excellency could not himself go to that part of the country where they were said to have been found, but he detached a person on whom he could depend. His report was so satisfactory, that on the 8th the Governor set off for Parramatta, attended by a small party; when, after travelling two days in a direction S.S.W. from the settlement at Prospect Hill, he crossed the river named by Mr. Phillip, the Nepean; and, to his great surprise and satisfaction, fell in with a very fine herd of cattle, upwards of forty in number, grazing in a pleasant and apparently fertile pasture. The day being far advanced when he saw them, he rested for the night in the neighbourhood, hoping in the morning to be gratified with a sight of the whole herd. A doubt had been started of their being cattle produced from what had been brought into that country by Governor Phillip from the Cape; and it was suggested that they might be of longer standing. The Governor thought this a circumstance worth determining, and directed the attendants who were with him to endeavour to get near enough to kill a calf. This they





The Brickfield hill, or High road to Parramatta. August 11th, 1796.







were not able to effect; for while lying in wait for the whole herd to pass, which now consisted of upwards of sixty young and old, they were furiously set upon by a bull, which brought up the rear, and which in their own defence they were obliged to kill. This, however, answered the purpose perhaps better than a calf might have done; for he had all the marks of the Cape cattle when full grown, such as wide-spreading horns, a moderate rising or hump between his shoulders, and a short thin tail. Being at this time seven or eight and thirty miles from Parramatta, a very small quantity of the meat only could be sent in; the remainder was left to the crows and dogs of the woods, much to the regret of the Governor and his party, who considered that the prisoners, particularly the sick at the hospital, had not lately received any meat either salt or fresh.

The country where they were found grazing was remarkably pleasant to the eye; everywhere the foot trod on thick and luxuriant grass; the trees were thinly scattered, and free from underwood, except in particular spots; several beautiful flats presented large ponds, covered with ducks and the black swan, the margins of which were fringed with shrubs of the most delightful tints, and the ground rose from these levels into hills of easy ascent.

The question of how these cattle came hither appeared easy of solution. The few that were lost in 1788, two bulls and five cows, travelled without interruption in a western direction until they came to the banks of the Nepean. Arrived there, and finding the crossing as easy as when the Governor had forded it, they came at once into a well-watered country, and amply stored with grass. From this place they had no inducement to move. They were in possession of a country equal to their support, and in which they remained undisturbed. The settlers had not till then travelled quite so far westward; and but few natives were to be found thereabouts; they were likely, therefore, to remain for years unmolested, and securely to propagate their species.

It was a most pleasant circumstance, to have in the woods of New Holland a thriving herd of wild cattle. Many proposals were made to bring them into the settlement; but in the day of want, if these should be sacrificed, in what better condition would the colony be for having possessed a herd of cattle in the woods? a herd which, if suffered to remain undisturbed for some years, would, like the cattle in South America, always prove a market sufficient for the inhabitants of that country;



and, perhaps, not only for their own consumption, but for exportation. The Governor saw it in this light, and determined to guard, as much as was in his power, against any attempts to destroy them.

On his return he found some very fine ground at the back of Prospect Hill. The weather during this excursion was so intensely hot, that on one of the days, as the party passed through a part of the country which was on fire, a terrier dog died by the way.

Nothing was heard of the natives at the river: all was quiet there. About Sydney their attention had been for some time engrossed by Ben-nil-long, who arrived with the Governor. On his first appearance, he conducted himself with polished familiarity toward his sisters and other relations; but to his acquaintance he was distant, and quite the man of consequence. He declared, in a tone and with an air that seemed to expect compliance, that he should no longer suffer them to fight and cut each other's throats, as they had done; that he should introduce peace among them, and make them love each other. He expressed his wish, that when they visited him at Government house, they would contrive to be somewhat more cleanly in their persons, and less coarse in their manners; and he seemed absolutely offended at some little indelicacies which he observed in his sister Car-rang-ar-rang, who came in such haste from Botany Bay, with a little nephew on her back, to visit him, that she left her habiliments behind her. Ben-nil-long had certainly not been an inattentive observer of the manners of the people among whom he had lived: he conducted himself with great propriety at table, particularly in the observance of those attentions which are chiefly requisite in the presence of women. His dress appeared to be an object of no small concern with him; and everyone who knew him before he left the country, and who saw him on his return, pronounced without hesitation, that Ben-nil-long had not any desire to renounce the habits and comforts of the civilized life which he appeared so readily and so successfully to adopt.

His inquiries were directed, immediately on his arrival, after his wife Go-roo-bar-roo-bool-lo; and here he found with Caruey. On producing a very fashionable rose-coloured petticoat and jacket made of a coarse stuff, accompanied with a gypsy bonnet of the same colour, she deserted her lover, and followed her former husband. In a few days, however, to the surprise of every one, the lady was seen walking unincumbered with



clothing of any kind, and Ben-nil-long was missing. Caruey was sought for; and it was then discovered that he had been severely beaten by Bennillong; who retained so much of English customs, that he made use of his fists instead of the weapons of his country, to the great annoyance of Caruey, who would have preferred meeting his rival fairly in the field armed with the spear and the club. Caruey being much the younger man, the lady, every inch a woman, followed her inclination, and Ben-nil-long was compelled to yield her without any further opposition. He seemed to have been satisfied with the beating that he had given Caruey, and hinted, that, resting for the present without a wife, he should look about him, and at some future period make a better choice. His absence from the Governor's house now became frequent, and little attended to. When he went out he usually left his clothes behind, carefully resuming them on his return, before he made his visit to the Governor.

During November, one man and a woman, attempting to cross a creek at the Hawkesbury by a tree which had been thrown over, fell in and were drowned; and one man had died there, of the bite of a snake. Three male convicts died in Sydney.

The harvest was begun early in December; when the Cape wheat (a bearded kind of grain differing much from the English) was found universally to have failed, and was pronounced not worth the labour of sowing.

A quantity of useful timber having been for some time past indiscriminately cut down upon the banks of the river Hawkesbury, and the creeks running from it, which had been wasted, or applied to purposes for which timber of less value would have answered equally well, the Governor, among other colonial regulations, thought it necessary to direct, that no timber whatever should be cut down on any ground which was not marked out on either the banks or creeks of that river: and, in order to preserve as much as possible such timber as might be of use either for building or for naval purposes, he ordered the king's mark to be immediately put on all such timber; after which any persons offending against the order were to be prosecuted. This order extended only to grounds not granted to individuals, there being a clause in all grants from the crown, expressly reserving, under pain of forfeiture, for the use thereof, "such timber as might be growing or to



grow hereafter upon the land so granted, which should be deemed fit for naval purposes."

The Governor, who had been afraid, from the existence of the cattle being established, that some of the vagabond convicts might be tempted to find them out, and satisfy their hunger by killing them from time to time, as they might find opportunity, was not surprised to hear that two of them had been destroyed. A very strict inquiry into the report, however, convinced him that it had been raised only for the purpose of trying how such a circumstance would be regarded. His Excellency thought it necessary, therefore, to state in public orders, that "Having heard it reported, that some person or persons, who had been permitted to carry arms for the protection of themselves and property, had lately employed that indulgence in an attempt to destroy the cattle belonging to government, which were at large in the woods, he declared that if it should be discovered that any person whatever should use any measure to destroy or otherwise annoy them, they would be prosecuted with the utmost severity of the law." A reward was also held out to any person giving information.

The harvest having commenced, the Governor signified to the settlers, that "although it had hitherto been the intention and the practice of Government to give them every possible encouragement, as well as others who had employed themselves in growing corn, by taking off their hands all their surplus grain at such prices as had from time to time been thought fair and reasonable, it was not, however, to be expected, as the colony advanced in the means of supplying itself with bread, that such a heavy expense could be continued. He, therefore, recommended to them to consider what reduction in the price of wheat and Indian corn they could at present submit to, as their offers in that respect would determine him how far it might be necessary in future to cultivate on the part of Government, instead of taking or purchasing a quantity from individuals at so great a price. This proposal, he thought, could not be considered otherwise than as fair and reasonable, when it was recollected that the means by which individuals had so far improved their farms, had arisen from the very liberal manner in which government had given up the labour of so great a number of its own servants, to assist the industry of others. He further said, that if this representation should fail of the effect which he hoped and expected, by procuring a reduction of the present high



price of grain, he should think it his duty to propose, that those who were assisted with servants from government should at least undertake to furnish those servants with bread.

A report from the river was current at this time, that the natives had assembled in a large body, and attacked a few settlers, who had chosen farms low down the river, and beyond the reach of protection from the other settlers, stripping them of every article that they could find in their huts. An armed party was directly sent out, who, coming up with them, killed four men and one woman, badly wounded a child, and took four men prisoners. It might have been supposed, that these punishments, following the enormities so immediately, would have taught the natives to keep at a greater distance; but nothing seemed to deter them from prosecuting the revenge which they had vowed against the settlers for the injuries that they had received at their hands.

A report prevailed, that black Caesar, a convict, and a savage of a darker hue, had in his life done one meritorious action, by killing Per-mul-wy, who had just before wounded Collins (the native) so dangerously, that his recovery was a matter of very great doubt with the surgeon at the hospital, whose assistance Collins had requested as soon as he had been brought into the town by his friends. A barbed spear had been driven into his loins close by the vertebræ of the back, and was so completely fixed, that all the efforts of the surgeons to remove it with their instruments were ineffectual. Finding, after a day or two, that it could not be displaced by art, Collins left the hospital, determined to trust to nature; and it was afterwards found that his trust had not been vain, though they saw him for several weeks walking about with the spear unmoved, even after suppuration had taken place; but they at last heard, that his wife had fixed her teeth in the wound and drawn it out: after which he recovered, and was able again to go into the field. During his illness, his wife War-re-weer showed by an uncommon attention that her attachment was superior to that of many a more polished female. Collins's recovery gave general satisfaction, as he was much esteemed by every white man who knew him, as well for his personal bravery, of which they had witnessed many distinguishing proofs, as on account of a gentleness of manners that strongly marked his disposition, and shaded off the harsh lines which his uncivilized life now and then forced into the foreground.



At the Hawkesbury, in the beginning of the month, an extraordinary meteorological phenomenon occurred. Four farms on the creek were totally cut up by a fall, not of hail or of snow, but of large flakes of ice. It was stated by the officer who had the command of the military there, that the shower passed in a direction N.W. taking such farms as fell within its course. The effect was extraordinary; the wheat then standing was beaten down, the ears cut off, and the grain perfectly threshed out. Of the Indian corn the large thick stalks were broken, and the cobs found lying at the roots. A man who was too far distant from a house to enter it in time, was glad to take shelter in the hollow of a tree. The sides of the trees which were opposed to its fury, appeared as if large shot had been discharged against them, and the ground was covered with small twigs from the branches. On that part of the race-ground which it crossed, the stronger shrubs were found cut to pieces, while the weaker, by yielding to the storm, were only beaten down. The two succeeding days were remarkably mild; notwithstanding which, the ice remained on the ground nearly as large as when it fell. Some flakes of it were brought to the officer on the second day, which measured from six to eight inches long, and at that time were two fingers at least in thickness. Nothing of this kind had been felt at Parramatta or at Sydney.

There died, during the year 1795, one assistant surgeon; one sergeant; two settlers; thirteen male convicts; seven female convicts, and one child; and one male convict was executed. Making a total of twenty-six persons who lost their lives during the year.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

On the first of January, the "Arthur" brig anchored in the Cove from Calcutta. Mr. Barber, the master, who had visited Port Jackson in 1794 in the same vessel, had been induced by the success that he then met with to pay a second visit to its inhabitants, with a similar cargo as to the nature of the articles, but of much larger value than that which he then sold. He had been thirteen weeks on his passage, and had heard nothing of the "Britannia."

In consequence of the order issued respecting a reduction in the price of wheat, the settlers, having consulted among themselves, deputed a certain number from the different districts to state to the Governor the hardships they should be subjected to by a reduction in the price of grain, at least for that season. He therefore consented to purchase their crops of wheat at ten shillings per bushel; but at the same time assured them, that a reduction would be made in the ensuing season, unless some unforeseen and unavoidable circumstances should occur to render it unnecessary.

The officers who held ground offered to give up two of the number of men that the Governor had allowed them, and to take two others off the provision store; which proposal was directed to be carried into execution.

Some of the more decent class of prisoners, male and female, having a short time since obtained permission to prepare a playhouse at Sydney, it was opened on the 16th, with the play of *The Revenge*, and the entertainment of *The Hotel*. They had fitted up the house with more theatrical propriety than could have been expected, and their performance was far above contempt. Their motto was modest and well chosen—"We cannot command success; but we will endeavour to deserve it." Of their dresses the greater part was made by themselves; but it was understood that some veteran articles from the York theatre were among the best that made their appearance.

At the licensing of this exhibition they were informed, that the slightest impropriety would be noticed, and a repetition punished by the banishment of their company to the other



settlements; there was, however, more danger of improprieties being committed by some of the audience than by the players themselves. A seat in their gallery, which was by far the largest part of the house, as likely to be the most resorted to, was to be procured for one shilling; and, as much flour, or as much meat or spirits, as the manager would take for that sum, was often paid at the gallery door. It was feared that this, like gambling, would furnish another inducement to rob; and some of the worst of the convicts, ever on the watch for opportunities, looked on the play-house as a certain harvest for them, not by picking the pockets of the audience, but by breaking into their houses while the family might be enjoying themselves at the theatre.

Among other objects of civil regulation which required the Governor's attention, was, to remedy an evil of great magnitude. It appeared, that for a considerable time past they had been in the practice of making and vending a spirit, the quality of which was of so destructive a nature, that the health of the settlement in general was much endangered.

A practice so iniquitous and ruinous, being not only direct disobedience of His Majesty's commands, but destructive of the welfare of the colony in general, the Governor in the most positive manner forbade all persons, on any pretence whatsoever, to distil spirituous liquors of any kind or quality, on pain of such steps being taken for their punishment, as would effectually prevent a repetition of so dangerous an offence. The constables of the different districts, as well as all other persons whose duty it was to preserve order, were strictly enjoined to be extremely vigilant in discovering and giving information, where, and in whose possession, any article or machine for the purpose of distilling spirits might then be, or should hereafter be erected, in opposition to this notification of the Governor's resolution. In pursuance of these directions, several stills were found and destroyed, to the great regret of the owners, who, from a bushel of wheat (worth at the public store ten shillings), distilled a gallon of a new and poisonous spirit, which they retailed directly from the still at five shillings per quart bottle, and sometimes more. This was not merely paid away for labour, as was pretended, but sold for the purpose of intoxication to whoever would bring ready money.

The many robberies which were almost daily and nightly committed, rendered it expedient that some steps should be



taken to put a stop to an evil so destructive of the happiness and comfort of the industrious inhabitants. Several attempts had been made by the Commissary, to ascertain the number of arms in the possession of individuals; it being feared, that, instead of their being properly distributed among the settlers for their protection, many were to be found in the hands of persons who used them in shooting, or in committing depredations. It was attempted a second time to discover their number, by directing all persons (the military excepted) who were in possession of arms, to bring them to the Commissary's office, where, after registering them, they were to receive certificates signed by him, of their being permitted to carry such arms.

Some few settlers, who valued their arms as necessary to their defence against the natives and against thieves, hastened to the office for their certificate; but of between two and three hundred stands of arms which belonged to the crown not fifty were accounted for.

Black Cæsar was still in the woods with several others of his own stamp, all of whom were armed; and as he sent word, that he neither would return nor suffer himself to be taken alive, it became necessary to secure him. Notice was therefore given, that whoever should make him their prisoner, and bring him to the Governor, should be rewarded.

The settlers, and those people who were occasionally supplied with ammunition by the officers, were informed that if they should be hereafter discovered to have so abused the confidence placed in them, as to supply those common plunderers with any part of this ammunition, they should be deemed accomplices in the robberies committed by them, and steps would be taken to bring them to punishment as accessories.

To relieve the mind from the contemplation of circumstances so irksome to humanity, on the 23rd the "Ceres" storeship arrived from England. It was impossible that a ship could ever reach that distant part of His Majesty's dominions from England, or from any other part of the world, without bringing a change to the ideas of its inhabitants, or even without giving some variety to their amusements. The introduction of a stranger among them had ever been an object of some moment; for every attention was considered as due to him who had left the civilized world to visit those so far removed from it. The personal interest that he might have in the visit was forgotten; and from the solicitude to hear news each contended who should be first in acts of hospitality. If



he afterwards found himself neglected, it was because he was no longer a stranger; his intelligence was exhausted, and he had sunk into the mere tradesman.

This ship had on board stores and provisions for the settlement. She had touched at the island of Amsterdam in her way to Port Jackson, and taken off four men, two French and two English, who had lived there three years, having been left from a brig which was taken on to China by the "Lion" man-of-war. One of the Frenchmen, M. Perron, apparently deserved a better kind of society than his companions supplied. He had kept an accurate and neatly-written journal of his proceedings, with some well-drawn views of the spot to which he was so long confined. It appeared, that they had, in the hope of their own or some other vessel arriving to take them off, collected and cured several thousands of seal-skins, which, however, they were compelled to abandon. M. Perron and his companions had subsisted for the last eighteen months on the flesh of seals.

The day following this arrival the signal announced a second which proved to be the snow "Experiment," commanded by Mr. Edward M'Clellan, who had before been in that country; and a few hours after, the ship "Otter," from Boston, in North America, anchored in the Cove. Mr. M'Clellan had on board a large investment of India goods, muslins, calicoes, chintzes, soap, sugar, spirits, and a variety of small articles, apparently the sweepings of a Bengal bazaar; the sale of which investment he expected would produce ten or twelve thousand pounds.

The American, either finding the market overstocked, or having had some other motive for touching at Port Jackson, declared that he had nothing for sale; but that he could, as a favour, spare two hogsheads of Jamaica rum, three pipes of Madeira, sixty-eight quarter-casks of Lisbon wine, four chests and a half of Bohea tea, and two hogsheads of molasses. He had touched at the late residence of M. Perron, the island of Amsterdam, and brought off as many of the seal-skins (his vessel being bound to China, after visiting the north-west coast of America) as he could take on board.

Ben-nil-long's influence over his countrymen not extending to the natives at the river, fresh accounts of their violence were received. They attacked a man who had been allowed to ply with a passage-boat between the port of Sydney and the



river, and wounded him (it was feared mortally); and they were beginning again to annoy the settlers there.

Notwithstanding the reward offered for apprehending Black Cæsar, he remained at large; and scarcely a morning arrived without a complaint being made to the magistrates of a loss of property supposed to have been occasioned by him. In fact, every theft that was committed was ascribed to him or some of the vagabonds who were in the woods, the number of whom at this time amounted to six or eight.

On the 11th of February an addition of two hundred and thirty-three male and female convicts was given to the settlements by the arrival of the "Marquis Cornwallis" transport from Ireland. This vessel was commanded by Mr. Michael Hogan, from whom it was learned, that a conspiracy had been formed to take the ship from him; but, the circumstances of it being happily disclosed in time, he was enabled to prevent it; and, having sufficient evidence of the existence of the conspiracy, he caused the principals of those concerned to be severely punished, first taking the opinions of all the free people who were on board. A military guard, consisting of two subalterns and a proportionate number of privates of the New South Wales corps (principally drafts from other regiments), was embarked in his ship. The prisoners were in general healthy; but some of those who had been punished were not quite recovered, and on landing were sent to the hospital. It appeared, that the men were for the most part of the description of people termed Defenders, desperate, and ripe for any scheme from which danger and destruction were likely to ensue. The women were of the same complexion, and their ingenuity and cruelty were displayed in the part that they were to take in the purposed insurrection; which was, the preparing of pulverised glass to mix with the flour, of which the seamen were to make their puddings. What an importation!

The "Marquis Cornwallis" had stopped at the island of St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope. From the latter of which places they brought the pleasing intelligence of its having surrendered to His Majesty's arms, and being in possession of the English. General Craig, the commander-in-chief on shore, and Commodore Blankett, each sent an official communication of this important circumstance to Governor Hunter, and stated their desire to assist in anything that might be of service to the settlement, when the season should offer



for sending the ships under his orders to the Cape of Good Hope for supplies.

The gentlemen of the settlement heard with infinite regret of the death of Colonel Gordon, whose attentions to the colony, at every opportunity that presented itself, could never be forgotten. He was indeed a favoured son of science, and liberally extended the advantages which that science gave him, wherever he thought they could promote the welfare of his fellow-creatures.

On the 15th a criminal court had met for the trial of two prisoners for a burglary, when information was received, that Black Cæsar had that morning been shot by one Wimbow. This man and another, allured by the reward, had been for some days in quest of him. Finding his haunt, they concealed themselves all night at the edge of a brush, which they had perceived him enter in the dusk of the evening. In the morning he came out; when, looking round him and seeing his danger, he presented his musket; but before he could pull the trigger Wimbow fired and shot him, and he died in a few hours. Thus ended a man, who certainly, during his life, could never have been estimated at more than one remove above the brute, and who had given more trouble than any other convict in the settlement.

On the 18th sailed for the north-west coast of America the "Otter," in which went Mr. Thomas Muir (one of the persons sent out for sedition), and several other convicts whose sentences of transportation were not expired. Mr. Muir conceived, that in withdrawing (though clandestinely) from that country, he was only asserting his freedom, and meant, if he should arrive in safety, to enjoy what he deemed himself to have regained of it in America, until the time should come when he might return to his own country with credit and comfort. He purposed practising at the American bar as an advocate; a point of information which he left behind him in a letter. At Sydney he had chiefly passed his time in literary ease and retirement, living out of the town at a little spot of ground which he had purchased for the purpose of seclusion.

Discharging the store-ships formed the principal labour of the month; during one or two hot days of which, the shrubs and brushwood about the west point of the cove caught fire, and burnt within a few yards of the magazine. On its being extinguished, the powder was removed for a few days on



board the "Supply," until some security against any future accident of that kind could be thrown up round the building.

By the return of the "Reliance" from Norfolk Island, accounts were received, that Mr. Bampton, who had left Port Jackson in September, on reaching Dusky Bay, in New Zealand, found his ship so leaky, that, with the advice of his officers and people, she was run on shore and scuttled. By great good fortune they found there a small vessel, which had been built by the carpenter of the "Britannia," when left with the mate and others in that ship's first voyage from thence to the Cape of Good Hope. Her they completed and launched. It may be remembered, that in addition to the large number of persons which Mr. Bampton had permission to take from Port Jackson, nearly as many more found means to secrete themselves on board his ship and the "Fancy." For these, as well as his officers and ship's company, he had now to provide a passage from the truly desolate shores of New Zealand (a sufficient punishment for his ingratitude in taking them away). He accordingly, after fitting as a schooner the vessel which he had launched, and naming her the "Providence," sailed with her and the "Fancy" for Norfolk Island, having on board as many of the officers and people who reached Dusky Bay with him as they could contain, leaving the remainder to proceed in a vessel which one of them undertook to construct out of the "Endeavour's" long boat. The "Fancy" and "Providence" arrived safe at Norfolk Island, whence they sailed for China on the 31st day of January.

This unlucky termination of the voyage of the "Endeavour," when added to the difficulties and dangers which Mr. Bampton had met with in the "Shah Hormuzear," on his return to India, appeared sufficient to discourage him from again venturing to speculate in Port Jackson.

In the course of this narrative, the different reports received respecting the state of the boat which landed on Tate Island, have been stated. In a Calcutta newspaper brought to Sydney, they now found a printed account of the whole of that transaction,\* which filled up that chasm in the story which the parties themselves alone could supply.

By referring to the account given in the month of July, 1794, as communicated by Mr. Dell, it will appear, that the ship, after having driven to leeward of the island after the boat left

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\*This account is reprinted at length in the "European Magazine," vol. xxxi., pp. 310-390, and is very affecting.



her, was three days before she could work up to it. When Mr. Dell went on shore to search for Captain Hill and his companions, he could only, at his return, produce what he thought incontestable proofs of their having been murdered; such as their great coats, a lantern, tomahawk, &c., and three hands, one of which, from a certain mark, was supposed to have belonged to Mr. Carter. Of the boat, after the most diligent search round the island, he could find no trace. By the account now published, and which bore every mark of authenticity, it appeared, that when the boat, in which these unfortunate gentlemen were, had reached the island on the 3rd of July, 1793, the natives received them very kindly, and conducted them to a convenient place for landing. After distributing some presents among them, with which they appeared very much satisfied, it was proposed, that Messrs. Carter, Shaw, and Ascott, should proceed to the top of a high land which they had noticed, and that Captain Hill should stay by the boat, with her crew, consisting of four seamen belonging to the "Chesterfield."

The inland party, taking the precaution to arm, and provide themselves with a necessary quantity of ammunition, set off. Nothing unfriendly occurred during their walk, though several little circumstances happened, which induced Ascott to suspect the natives had some design upon them; an idea, however, which was scouted by his companions.

On their return from the hill, hostile designs became apparent, and the natives seemed to be deterred from murdering them merely by the activity of Ascott, who, by presenting his musket occasionally, kept them off; but, notwithstanding his activity and vigilance, the natives at length made their attack. They began by attempting to take Ascott's musket from him, finding that he was the most likely to annoy them; directly after which, Mr. Carter, who was the foremost of the party, was heard to exclaim, "My God, my God! they have murdered me." Ascott, who still retained his musket, immediately fired, on which the natives left them and fled into the bushes. Ascott now had time to look about him, and saw what he justly deemed a horrid spectacle, Mr. Carter lying bleeding on the ground, and Mr. Shaw with a large wound in his throat. They were both, however able to rise, and proceed down the hill to the boat. On their arrival at the beach, they called to their companions to fire; but to their extreme horror, they perceived Captain Hill and one of the seamen lying dead on the



sand, cut and mangled in a most barbarous manner. Two others of the seamen they saw floating on the water with their throats cut from ear to ear. The fourth sailor they found dead in the bush, mangled in the same shocking manner. With much difficulty these unhappy people got into their boat, and, cutting her grapnel, pulled off from this treacherous shore. While this was performing, they clearly saw the natives, whom in their account they term voracious cannibals, dragging the bodies of Captain Hill and the seamen from the beach toward some large fires, which they supposed were prepared for the occasion, yelling and howling at the same time most dismally. These wretched survivors of their companions having seen, from the top of the hill whither their ill-fated curiosity had led them, a large sand-bank not far from the island, determined to run under the lee of it, as they very reasonably hoped that boats would the next morning be sent after them from the ship. They experienced very little rest or ease that night, and when daylight appeared found that they had drifted nearly out of sight of the island, and to leeward of the sand-bank.

Deeming it in vain to attempt reaching the bank, after examining what was left in the boat, (a few of the trifles which they had put into her to buy the friendship of the natives, and Ascott's great-coat, but neither a compass nor a morsel of provisions,) they determined, by the advice of Shaw, who of these three miserable people was the only one that understood anything of navigation, to run direct for Timor, for which place the wind was happily fair. To the westward, therefore, they directed their course, trusting to that Providence which had delivered them from the cannibals at Tate Island.

Without provisions, destitute of water, and almost without bodily strength, it cannot be doubted that their sufferings were very great before they reached a place of safety and relief. They left the island on the 3rd of July, the day on which their companions were butchered. On the 7th, having on the preceding day passed a sand-bank covered with birds, they providentially, in the morning, found two small birds in the boat, one of which they immediately divided into three parts, and were considerably relieved by eating it. On the 8th they found themselves with land on both sides. Through these straits they passed and continued their course to the westward. All that could be done with their wounds was to keep them clean by opening them occasionally, and washing



them with salt water. On the 11th they saw land, and pushed their boat into a bay, all agreeing that they had better trust to the chance of being well received on shore, than to that of perishing in the course of a day or two more at sea. There they procured some water and a roasted yam from the natives, who also gave them to understand that Timor was to the southward of them. Not thinking themselves quite so safe here as they would be at Coupang, they again embarked. They soon after found a proa in chase of them, which they eluded by standing with their boat over a reef that the proa could not encounter. On the morning of the 13th they saw a point of land ahead, which, with the wind as it then was, they could not weather. They therefore ran into a small bay, where the natives received them, calling out "Bligh! Bligh!" Here they landed, were hospitably received, and providentially saved from the horror of perishing by famine.

This place was called by the natives Sarrett, and was distinct from Timor Land, which was the first place they refreshed at. They were also informed, that there was another small island to the northward, called by them Fardatta; but which in some charts was named Tanabor. They also understood that a proa came yearly from Banda to trade at Tanabor, and that her arrival was expected in the course of seven or eight months. They were much gratified with this information, and soon found that they had fallen into the hands of a hospitable and humane race of people. On the 25th of July Mr. Carter's wound was entirely healed, after having had thirteen pieces of the fractured skull taken out. But this gentleman was fated not long to survive his sufferings. He remained in perfect health until the 17th of November, when he caught a fever, of which he died on the 10th of December, much regretted by his two friends (for adversity makes friends of those who, perhaps, in other situations would never have shaken hands).

The two survivors waited in anxious expectation for the arrival of the annual trading proa from Banda. To their great joy she came on the 12th of March, 1794; they sailed for Banda on the 10th of April, and arrived there on the 1st of May following, where they were received with the greatest hospitality by the governor, who supplied them with everything necessary for people in their situation, and provided them with a passage on board an Indiaman bound to Batavia, where they arrived on the 10th of the following October;



adding another to the many instances of escape from the perils which attend on those whose hard fate have driven them to navigate the ocean in an open boat.

Hard indeed was the fate of Captain Hill and Mr. Carter. They were gentlemen of liberal education, qualified to adorn the circles of life in which their rank in society placed them. How lamentable thus to perish, the one by the hands and rude weapons of barbarous savages, cut off in the prime of life and most perfect enjoyment of his faculties, lost for ever to a widowed parent and a sister whom he tenderly loved, his body mangled, roasted, and devoured by cannibals; the other, after escaping from those cannibals, to perish\* in a country where all were strangers to him, except his two companions in misery, to give up all his future prospects in life, never more to meet the cheering eye of friendship or of love, and without having had the melancholy satisfaction of recounting his perils, his escape, and sufferings, to those who would sympathize with him in the tale of his sorrows.

On the 10th of March the "American" sailed for the north-west coast of America. In her went Mr. James Fitzpatrick Knaresbro', a gentleman whose hard lot it had been to be doomed to banishment for life from his native country, Ireland, and the enjoyment of a comfortable fortune which he there possessed. He lived during his residence at Parramatta with the most rigid economy and severe self-denial even of the common comforts of life.

It was remarked with concern, that the crops of this season proved in general bad, the wheat being almost everywhere mixed with a weed named by the farmers Drake. It was occasioned by the ground being overwrought, from a greediness to make it produce golden harvests every season, without allowing it time to recruit itself from crop to crop, or being able to afford it manure.

At the Hawkesbury, where alone any promise of agricultural advantage was to be found, the settlers were immersed in intoxication. Riot and madness marked their conduct; and this was to be attributed to the spirits that, in defiance of every precaution, found their way thither. Robberies were everywhere more frequent now than they had been for some time;

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\*It is evident, if this account be true, that Mr. Dell must have been mistaken in his opinion of having carried on board the "Shah Hormuzear" a hand which, from a certain mark on it, he knew to have belonged to Mr. Carter.



scarcely a night passing without at least an attempt being made.

Reports were again received during the month, of fresh outrages committed by the natives at the river. The schooner which had been sent round with provisions saw some of these people off a high point of land named Portland Head, who menaced them with their spears, and carried in their appearance every mark of hostility. The Governor being at this time on an excursion to that settlement (by water), one of his party landed on the shore opposite Portland Head, and saw at a short distance a large body of natives, who he understood had assembled for the purpose of burning the corpse of a man who had been killed in some contest among themselves.

About this time Bennillong, who occasionally shook off the habits of civilized life, and went into the woods for a few days with his sisters and other friends, sent in word that he had had a contest with his bosom friend Cole-be, in which he had been so much the sufferer, that until his wounds were healed he could not with any pleasure to himself appear at the Governor's table. This notification was accompanied with a request, that his clothes, which he had left behind when he went away, might be sent him, together with some victuals, of which he was much in want.

On his again visiting the settlement, he appeared with a wound on his mouth, which had divided the upper lip and broke two of the teeth of that jaw. His features, never very pleasing, now seemed out of all proportion, and his pronunciation was much altered. Finding himself badly received among the females (although improved by his travels in the little attentions that are supposed to have their weight with the sex), and not being able to endure a life of celibacy, he had made an attack upon his friend's favourite, Boo-ree-a, in which he was not only unsuccessful, but was punished for his breach of friendship, as has been related, by Cole-be, who sarcastically asked him, "if he meant that kind of conduct to be a specimen of English manners?"

Among the deaths which took place in March, was that of Mr. Joseph Gerald. A consumption which accompanied him from England, and which all his wishes and efforts to shake off could not overcome, at length brought him to that period when, perhaps, his strong enlightened mind must have perceived how full of vanity and vexation of spirit were the busiest concerns of the world; and into what a narrow limit



was now to be thrust that frame which but of late trod firmly in the walk of life, elate and glowing with youthful hope, glorying in being a martyr to the cause which he termed that of freedom, and considering as an honour that exile which brought him to an untimely grave. He was followed in three days after by another victim to mistaken opinions, Mr. William Skirving. A dysentery was the apparent cause of his death; but his heart was broken. In the hope of receiving remittances from England, which might enable him to proceed with spirit and success in farming, of which he appeared to have a thorough knowledge, he had purchased from different persons, about one hundred acres of land adjacent to the town of Sydney. He soon found that a farm near the sea-coast was of no great value. His attention and his efforts to cultivate the ground were of no avail. Remittances he received none; he contracted some little debts, and found himself neglected by that party for whom he had sacrificed the dearest connections in life, a wife and family; and finally yielded to the pressure of accumulated calamity. His conduct while in exile had been that of a pious, honest, worthy character: nor had his political principles ever manifested themselves; but all his solicitude seemed to be, to evince himself the friend of human nature. "*Requiescat in pace!*"

Toward preventing the indiscriminate sale of spirits which prevailed in the settlements, the Governor thought that granting licenses to a few persons of good character might have a beneficial effect; ten persons were selected by the magistrates, to whom licenses for twelve months were granted; and as, from the very frequent state of intoxication in which great numbers of the lower orders of people had for some time past been seen, there was a great reason to suspect that a greater quantity of spirituous liquors had been landed from the different ships which had entered the port than permits had been obtained for, it became highly necessary to put a stop, as early as possible, to a practice which was pregnant with all kinds of mischief. The Governor, therefore, judged it necessary, the more effectually to suppress the dangerous practice of retailing spirits in this indiscriminate way, not only to grant licenses under the restrictions above mentioned, but to desire the aid of all officers, civil and military, as they regarded the good of His Majesty's service, the peace, tranquillity, and order of the colony, to use their utmost exertions for putting



an end to a species of traffic, from which the destruction of health and the ruin of all industry were to be expected.

On the 18th of April the "Supply" returned from Norfolk Island, having been absent only three weeks and four days, the quickest passage that had been yet made to and from that island. She was followed a few hours after by the snow "Susan" from Rhode Island, having been at sea two hundred and thirty-one days, not touching anywhere on her passage.

The Americans were observed to make this voyage from motives of frugality, sailing direct for the port; but they were at the same time observed to bring in their people extremely healthy. On being questioned as to what methods they took to secure the health of their seamen, they replied, that in general they found exercise the best preventive against the scurvy, and considered idleness as the surest means of introducing it. In addition to exercise, however, they made frequent use of acids in the diet of their seamen, and of fumigations from tobacco in their between-decks. Certain it was, that none of the ships which touched there from other ports arrived so generally healthy. The cargo of the snow consisted of spirits, broad-cloth, and a variety of useful and desirable articles, adapted to the necessities of the country.

On the last day of the month the "Indispensable" transport arrived from England, with one hundred and thirty-one female convicts, and a small quantity of provisions on board for their consumption.

In April and the preceding month many people, adults as well as children, were again afflicted with inflammations in the eyes. Its occurring at the same season as the year before, confirmed the medical gentlemen in the opinion formerly given, of the disorder originating in the variable weather.

Daily experience proved, that those people whose sentences of transportation had expired were greater evils than the convicts themselves, as many of them withdrew from receiving the ration allowed by Government, only to avoid labour and to subsist by depredations.

On the 11th of May, to the general satisfaction of the settlement, the "Britannia" storeship arrived from Calcutta and Madras, on private account; and one young mare, five cows and one cow-calf, of the Bengal breed, were brought for sale.

On board this ship came two officers of the Bengal army, for the purpose of raising two hundred recruits from among those people who had served their respective terms of



transportation. They were to be regularly enlisted and attested, and were to receive bounty-money.

On the first view of this scheme it appeared very plausible; and it was imagined that the execution of it would be attended with good to the settlement, by ridding it of many of those wretches whom there was too much reason to deem the greatest nuisances: but when it was found that the recruiting officer was instructed to be nice as to the characters of those whom he should enlist, and to entertain none that were of known bad morals, the Governor perceived that the settlement would derive less benefit from it than had been at first expected; particularly as there was reason to suppose, that several settlers would abandon their farms, and, leaving their families a burden to the store, embrace the change which was offered. It was far better for the settlement, if any were capable of bearing arms and becoming soldiers in defence of their own lives and possessions; and, by embodying them from time to time as a militia, they would save the public the expense of a regiment or corps raised for the mere purpose of protecting the public stores and the civil establishment of the colony.

Recruiting, therefore, from that colony for the Bengal army, being a measure that required consideration, and which the Governor thought should first have obtained the sanction of administration, he determined to wait the result of a communication on the subject with the Secretary of State, before he gave it his countenance. At the same time he meant to recommend it in a certain degree; as it was evident that many good recruits might be taken, without any injury to the interests of the settlement.

Mr. Raven, the master of the "Britannia," on his return from this his second voyage to India, gave it as his opinion, "that the passage to be pursued from New South Wales to India, depended wholly upon the season in which the ship might leave Port Jackson. From the month of November to April, or rather from October to the beginning of March, which ought to be the latest period that any ship should attempt a northern passage, he recommended making Norfolk Island; and thence passing between the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia, to keep as nearly as circumstances would allow in the longitude of  $165^{\circ}$  east, until the ship should reach the latitude of  $8^{\circ}$  south; and then shape a course to cross the equator in  $160^{\circ}$  east; after which the master should steer to the N.W. by N. or N.N.W. until in the latitude of  $5^{\circ} 20'$  or  $5^{\circ}$



30' north; in which latitude Mr. Raven would run down his longitude, and pass the south end of Mindanao, and between that island and Bascelan; and thence through the straits of Banguey into the China sea. In running this passage, it would be necessary to pay attention to Mr. Dalrymple's charts of those islands, &c., which Mr. Raven found very accurate.

"If leaving Port Jackson any time between the beginning of March and the 1st of September, Mr. Raven would prefer passing through a strait in the longitude of  $156^{\circ} 10'$  E. or thereabouts; and from the latitude of  $7^{\circ} 6'$  E. to  $6^{\circ} 42'$  S. which divides some parts of the islands of the New Georgia of Captain Shortland; thence through St. George's channel to the northward of New Guinea, through Dampier's strait, down Pitt's Passage, to the southward of Boutton, and through the straits of Salayer, into the Banda of Amboyna sea."

Mr. Raven furnished these observations in the hope that they might benefit the settlement of Port Jackson, by proving useful to the commanders of any ships which the Governor might have occasion to send into those seas on the service of the colony.

Previous to the departure of Mr. Hogan's ship for India, that gentleman requested that an examination might be taken as to the circumstances of his conduct toward the convicts and others on board his ship during their passage from Ireland. This was accordingly done; when it appeared, that Mr. Hogan, but for the fortunate and timely discovery of it, would with his ship have fallen a sacrifice to as daring and alarming a conspiracy as, perhaps, ever had been entered into by a set of desperate wretches on board of any ship; and that nothing was left him, to save himself from the danger of a similar circumstance occurring during the voyage, but to inflict immediate punishment on the persons who were concerned in it.

The weather through the whole of May had proved very variable. The cattle brought by Mr. Raven, though in Smithfield they would not all together have been worth fifty pounds, were sold by auction at enormous prices. The mares went at one hundred pounds, one of the cows at eighty-four pounds, and the others at prices little inferior.

The practice of purchasing the crops of the settlers for spirits had too long prevailed; and the Governor thought it absolutely necessary, by all means in his power, to put an end to it; for it was not possible that a farmer who should be idle



enough to throw away the labour of twelve months, for the gratification of a few gallons of poisonous spirits, could expect to thrive, or enjoy those comforts which were only to be procured by sobriety and industry. From such characters he determined to withdraw the assistance of Government, since when left to themselves they would have less time to waste in drunkenness and riot.

On the 20th of June, the Governor, with a small party, undertook a second excursion to the retreat of the cattle. A few days previous to the Governor's departure, Mr. Bass, the surgeon of the "Reliance," and two companions, set off in an attempt to round the mountains to the westward; but having soon attained the summit of the highest, they saw, at the distance of forty or fifty miles, another range of mountains, extending to the northward and southward. Mr. Bass reported, that he passed over some very fine land; and he brought in some specimens of a light wood which he met with.

The Governor was not long absent. He saw the cattle ranging as before, although not exactly in the same spot, in the finest country yet discovered in New South Wales; and ascended a hill which, from every point of view, had appeared the highest in the neighbourhood. The height of this hill, which obtained the name of Mount Hunter, was supposed to be near a mile from the base; and the view from the summit was commanding and full of grand objects, wood, water, plains, and mountains. Everywhere on that side of the Nepean the soil was found to be good, and the ground eligible for cultivation. The sides of Mount Hunter, though very steep, were clothed with timber to the summit, and the ground filled with the orchis root.

The knowledge derived from this excursion was, that the cattle had not been disturbed, and that they had increased: ninety-four were at this time counted.

About the same time the people of a fishing-boat returned from a bay near Port Stephens, and brought with them several large pieces of coal, which they said they found at some little distance from the beach, lying in considerable quantity on the surface of the ground. These people having conducted themselves improperly while on shore, two of them were severely wounded by the natives, one of whom died soon after he reached the hospital.

Toward the latter end of the month two men from each officer were ordered to join the public gangs, it being found



wholly impracticable to erect, without more assistance, any of the buildings which had become indispensably necessary; as store-houses, barracks, and houses for the assistant-surgeons. A church too, of more substantial materials than lath and plaster, was wanted both at Sydney and Parramatta; as well as court-houses, or places where the courts of civil and criminal judicature might be held, and where the magistrates might meet to do the public business.

The timber-carriages were now, instead of men, drawn by six or eight stout oxen; and all the timber which was used for building or other purposes was brought to the pits by them. This was some saving of men; but eight people were still employed with each carriage.

Among the many evils that were daily seen flowing from that state of dissipation which had found its way into the different settlements, it was much to be regretted that two men lost their lives by the hand of violence. On Tuesday, the 9th of July, a seaman belonging to the "*Indispensable*" was shot at Sydney, in the house of the master boatbuilder, by a convict servant of his; and on the same day, at the Hawkesbury, John Fenlow, a settler, shot his servant, a convict. The latter of these unfortunate men lived but a few hours, and the seaman, after languishing several days, expired.

These transactions were productive of some internal regulations which had long been wanting. Several settlers, with whose conduct the Governor had had but too much cause to be displeased, were at length deprived of all assistance from Government, and left to the exercise of their own abilities; and all persons off the stores, who of course did not labour for Government, were ordered forthwith to appear at Sydney, in order to their being mustered and examined relative to their respective terms of transportation; when certificates were to be given to such as were regularly discharged from the commissary's books, and the settlers were directed not to employ any but those which could produce this certificate.

Stock of all denominations was at this period fast increasing in the different districts: one officer, who was quitting the colony, sold to the Government a flock of goats, consisting of about one hundred animals.

The "*Britannia*," which was fitting again for sea, was offered by the master to the Governor, for the purpose of going direct to England, if His Excellency should have any occasion to employ her in such a voyage; and there being at



the time several soldiers unfit for service, with others whose engagements with the crown had expired, the Governor thought it advisable to ease Government at once of these expenses, by closing with Mr. Raven's proposal, and accordingly chartered his ship for the purpose of conveying them to Europe.

The natives had of late appeared less troublesome than for some time past. The people of a fishing-boat, which had been cast on shore in bad weather near Port Stephens, met with some of these people, who, without much entreaty, or any hope of reward, readily put them into the path from thence to Broken Bay, and conducted them the greatest part of the way. During their little journey, these friendly people made them understand that they had seen a white woman among some natives to the northward. On their reporting this at Sydney, the unfortunate female was conjectured to be Mary Morgan, a prisoner, who it was now said had failed in her attempt to get on board the "Resolution" storeship, which sailed in 1794. There was indeed another woman, who ran away a few days after the first settling in Sydney, and whose fate was not ascertained; if she could have survived the hardships and wretchedness of such a life as must have been hers during so many years' residence among the natives of New Holland, how much information must it have been in her power to afford! but humanity shuddered at the idea of purchasing it at such a price.

Early in August John Fenlow was tried for the wilful murder of his servant, David Lane. The charge being fully made out, the prisoner received sentence to die; and on the following Saturday was executed, his body being delivered to the surgeons for dissection, pursuant to his sentence. The night before his execution, he confessed that the murder which he committed had been premeditated. It could scarcely be supposed, that among the description of people of which the lower class was formed in New South Wales, any would have been found sufficiently curious to have attended the surgeons on such an occasion; but they had no sooner signified that a body was ready for inspection, than the hospital was filled with people, men, women, and children, to the number of several hundred; none of whom appeared moved with pity for his fate, or in the least degree admonished by the sad spectacle before their eyes.



On the 23rd of August the "Grand Turk" arrived from Boston, after a passage of five months from that port. She was loaded with spirits, tobacco, wine, soap, iron, linseed oil, broad-cloth, &c., &c., for the market of Port Jackson, Manila, and Canton.

In September a temporary church was opened at Parramatta. Decent places of worship were now to be seen at the two principal settlements. At the time when Sydney was visited by the Spanish ships the clergyman preached wherever he could find a shady spot. The priest belonging to the Commodore's ship, on observing that there was not any church built, lifted up his eyes with astonishment, and declared, that had the place been settled by his nation, a house for God would have been erected before any house for man.

The invalids and passengers who were returning to England in the "Britannia" being embarked, that ship, the "Reliance," and the "Francis" schooner, hauled out of the Cove preparatory to their departure. As a proof that stock was not at this time falling in its value, one of the gentlemen sold two Cape cows and one steer for 189 pounds sterling. The stock in the colony was of considerable extent and value, as will appear by the following account of it which was taken for the purpose of being transmitted to Government:

Account of live stock in the possession of Government and the civil and military officers of the settlement, on the first of September, 1796.

Mares, 57; cows and cow calves, 101; bulls and bull calves, 74; oxen, 54; sheep, 1,531; goats, 1,427; hogs, 1,869.

The wild cattle to the westward of the river Nepean, were not included in this account.

All kinds of poultry were numerous.

The number of acres at the same time in cultivation, were 5,419.

It was satisfactory to those gentlemen who were now on the point of quitting that country (among whom was the author of this history, who had been in the settlement from its establishment, and witnessed many periods of distress and difficulty) to reflect, that they left it not only with a prospect of plenty before it, but with stores and granaries abundantly filled at the time. In the houses of individuals were to be found most of the comforts, and not a few of the luxuries of life. For these the island was indebted to the communications that it had had with India, and other parts of the world; and the former years



of famine, toil, and difficulty, were now exchanged for years of plenty, ease, and pleasure.

The following state of the settlement was made up to the 31st of August, 1796:

Salt provisions and grain in Store:

			To last at the established ration.	
Quality.			Weeks.	Days.
Beef	..	..	31	1
Pork	..	..	44	6
Total of salt meat ..			76	0
Pease	..	..	22	0
Wheat	..	..	29	1
Maize	..	..	41	4
Sugar	..	..	4	0

To consume this quantity of food, there were victualled:

			Persons.
At Sydney	..	..	2,219
At Parramatta	..	..	965
At the Hawkesbury	..	..	454
Making a total of ..			3,638

There were 321 people off the public stores; which, added to the 3,638 who were victualled, gave a general total of 3,959 persons in the different settlements, of all descriptions and ages; not including those at Norfolk Island, in which settlement were 889 persons. To which add 3,959 persons, in New South Wales, there will be found 4,848 persons under the British Government, in New South Wales, and its dependencies.

A few days previous to the sailing of the ships, information was received of a most inhuman murder having been perpetrated on the body of a settler's wife, at the district of the Ponds. A female neighbour was accused by an accomplice of having committed this diabolical act, for the purpose of enriching herself with the property which she knew this unfortunate woman had in her house. She was immediately apprehended, and some part of the money found upon her, which left little doubt but the avenging arm of justice would soon fall upon her head.



On the 29th His Majesty's ship "Reliance," and the "Britannia" hired transport, left Port Jackson. They were to touch at Norfolk Island, for the purpose of taking on board Lieutenant-Governor King, who, from a long state of ill-health, had found himself compelled to apply for leave to return to England.

The following were the prices of various articles, as they were sold at Sydney about the time the ships sailed, viz.:—

Stock.—Cows, £80; horses, £90; sheep, £7 10s.; goats, £4; turkeys, £1 1s.; geese, £1 1s.; fowls, full grown, 5s.; ducks, 5s.

Provisions.—Fresh pork, 1s. 3d. per lb.; mutton, 2s.; goat, 1s. 6d. per lb.; kangaroo, 6d.; fish, 3d.; eggs, 2s. per dozen; salted pork, 1s. per lb.; salted beef, 8d. per lb.; potatoes, 12s. per cwt.; potatoes, 3d. per lb.; flour, 7½d.; wheat meal, (sifted) 4½d.; wheat meal, (unsifted), 3½d.; wheat, 12s. per bushel; barley, 10s. per bushel; pease, 7s. per bushel; maize, 5s. per bushel; maize ground, 8s. per bushel; cheese, 3s. per lb.; butter, 3s. per lb.; white-wine vinegar, 6s. per gal.

Groceries.—Hyson tea, £1 4s. per lb.; coffee, 2s. per lb.; sugar, (soft), 1s. per lb.; soap, 2s. per lb.; Virginia leaf tobacco, 5s. per lb.; Brazil, (roll), 7s. per lb.; black pepper, 4s. per lb.; ginger, 3s. per lb.; pipes, £1 10s. per gross.

Wine and Spirits.—Red port, 5s. per bottle; Madeira, 4s. per bottle; Cape wine, 3s. per bottle; rum, 5s. per bottle; gin, 6s. per bottle; porter, 2s. per bottle; beer made at Sydney, 1s. 6d.

India Goods.—Long cloth, from 3s. to 6s. per yard; calicoes, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per yard; muslins, from 7s. to 12s. per yard; nankeen, 10s. per piece; coarse printed calicoes, £1 5s. per piece; silk handkerchiefs, 12s. per piece.

English Goods.—Black hats, from 15s. to £2; shoes, from 9s. to 13s. per pair; cotton stockings, from 6s. to 12s.; writing-paper, 6s. per quire.

The beer mentioned in the preceding account as being made at Sydney, was brewed from India corn, properly malted, and bittered with the leaves and stalks of the love-apple, (*Lycopersicum*, a species of *solanum*,) or, as it was commonly called in the settlement, the Cape gooseberry; which was found to succeed so well, that a building proper for the business was erected by an individual at a considerable expense.



At this time the following prices were demanded and paid for labour and work done at Sydney and the different settlements, viz. :—

A carpenter, for a day's work, 5s.; a labourer, for a day's work, 3s.; for clearing an acre of ground, £3; for breaking up an acre of ground, £1; for threshing a bushel of wheat, 1s.; for reaping an acre of wheat, 10s.; the price of ground was from 12s. to £1 an acre; for making a pair of man's shoes, 3s. 6d.; for making a pair of women's shoes, 3s.; for making a coat, 6s.; for making a gown, 5s. For washing, three pence for each article was paid; and a person who washed found soap, &c.; if a woman was hired, she had one shilling and sixpence for the day, and her meals.

The want of several public buildings in the settlement has already been mentioned. To this want must be added, as absolutely necessary to the well-being and comfort of the settlers, as well as the prosperity of the colony in general, that of a public store, to be opened on a plan, though not exactly the same, yet as liberal as that of the island of St. Helena; where the East-India Company issue to their own servants European and India goods, at 10 per cent. advance on the prime cost. Considering the immense distance of Port Jackson from England, a greater advance would be necessary; and the settlers and others would be well content, and think it equally liberal to pay 50 per cent. on the prime cost of all goods sent from England; for at this time they paid never less than one hundred, and frequently one thousand per cent. on what they had occasion to purchase. It might be objected, that Government would not choose to open an account, and be concerned in the retail of goods; but any individual would find it to his interest, to do this, particularly if assisted by Government in the freight, and the inhabitants would gladly prefer the manufactures of their own country, to the sweepings of the Indian bazaars.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

With the following particulars relative to the state of Norfolk Island, at the time the ships left it, the writer was favoured by Lieutenant-Governor King.

**State of Cultivation.**

The island contains about eleven thousand acres of ground. In the level parts, where the earth cannot be washed away by the heavy rains, the soil varies from a rich brown mould to a light red earth, without any intermixture of sand. These are again varied by some extensive pieces of light black mould and fine gravel, which are found to produce the best wheat. The rains which fall during the winter months wash the mould from the sides of the steep hills into the bottom, leaving a grey marly substance, which will not admit of cultivation in that state. This, however, is the case only among the very steep hills that are cleared of timber, and have been four or five years in cultivation. Those of any easy ascent preserve their depth of soil, and many of them have borne six successive crops of wheat. From the quantity of soil thus washed away from the sides of the steep hills into the bottom, (some of which were only a water-way between the hills), there were level spots of ground covered to a great depth with the richest mould. Of the eleven thousand acres of ground in the island, there are not two hundred which might not be cultivated to the greatest advantage, if cleared of timber, and allowed a sufficiency of labourers, of cattle, and of ploughs.

The ground cleared of timber for the public use, and that marked out for the settlers' lots, comprised one half of the island. Most of that cleared of timber was under cultivation in 1793 and 1794, and produced above thirty-four thousand bushels of grain; but from the sudden and effectual check given to private industry during the latter year, and the great proportion of the labourers working for their own support, and otherwise disposed of, not more than a third of the Government-ground, and a fifth of that belonging to individuals, was in a state of cultivation during the last year.



That proportion of the ground so neglected became overrun with rank and strong weeds, which formed a great cover to the numerous rats; beside that the injury done to the soil by the growth of these weeds was very much to be deplored. The humane attention, however, shown to the wants of the industrious individual by Governor Hunter, in directing the maize bills to be paid, it was hoped, would not only relieve many deserving people, but also revive that spirit of industry which the settlers had in general manifested.

Cultivation was confined to maize, wheat, potatoes, and other garden vegetables. The heat of the climate, occasional droughts, and blighting winds, rendered wheat an uncertain crop: The harvests of maize were constant, certain, and plentiful; and two crops were generally procured in twelve months. The produce of one crop might be averaged at forty-five bushels per acre, and many had yielded from seventy to eighty.

By the statement before given it appears, that there were five thousand two hundred and forty-seven acres occupied, of which only one thousand five hundred and twenty-eight were cleared of timber: that there also remained five thousand seven hundred and fifty-three neither occupied nor cleared, making in the whole nine thousand four hundred and seventy-two acres not cleared of timber. If six thousand of the nine thousand four hundred and seventy-two acres not cleared, could be put under cultivation in addition to the one thousand five hundred and twenty-eight already cleared of timber, its produce at one crop only and allowing no more than thirty bushels of maize to the acre, would be two hundred and twenty-five thousand eight hundred and forty bushels of grain; and even this might be doubled, if, as before said, there were labourers to procure a second crop.

The remaining three thousand four hundred and seventy-two acres might be reserved for fuel, building timber, and other purposes.

From these data some calculation may be made of the number of people that the island might be made to maintain.

The following is a statement of the stock belonging to Government and individuals on the 18th of October, 1796.

Cattle, 3; female cattle, 3; horses, 2; mares, 4; asses, 6; sheep, 170; goats, 383; swine, 4,835; poultry a very great abundance.



Exclusive of the above stock, five hundred and ninety-two thousand four hundred and eighty pounds of swine flesh and mutton had been expended on the island and exported from it; all which were produced from the following quantity received from November, 1791, to October, 1796. Cattle, one male and two females; horses, one male, one female; asses, one male and three females; sheep, twenty-three; goats, thirteen; swine, one hundred and fifty-nine.

When the settlers were informed that payment for the maize lodged in the stores in January, 1794, could not be made until orders were received from England, and that no more grain could be received, but that the purchase of fresh pork would be continued, the course of their industry became changed, though the raising of grain still continued necessary for rearing their stock.

Salting pork in the cool months had been successfully tried, but it would not answer in the summer. It was intended, that the swine belonging to Government which could be killed during the winter should be salted down, as a sufficiency of salt was making to answer that purpose.

From these resources, it might fairly be presumed, that, if no unforeseen mortality should attack the stock, the settlers and other individuals would be able to continue supplying the stores with half the ration of animal food, and that Government in the course of twelve months might furnish the other half: And further, that if the industry of the settlers and other individuals were encouraged by their overplus grain and animal food being purchased at a fair price, the produce of the grounds cleared would be more than sufficient for the maintenance of the present inhabitants, three hundred and thirty-seven of whom supported themselves without any expense to the crown; and this might be further secured, if cattle and sheep could be sent there, as the former were much wanted for labour, and the latter for change of food. It is certain that sheep breed there as well as in any part of the world, and have not as yet been subject to the distempers common to that kind of stock. The Bengal ewes year twice in thirteen months, and have commonly two, often three, and sometimes four lambs at a yearling; and these have increased so much by being crossed with the Cape ram, that a lamb six weeks old is now as large as one of the old ewes.

The goats too are extremely prolific, and generally breed thrice in the year, having commonly from two to four kids at a time.



Any number of sheep and goats, and a large quantity of stock might be bred in this island, as the cleared ground affords the best of pasture for those species of stock. But it will be a long time before the present stock will be of much use, unless more are sent.

The want of artificers of all descriptions, and the scarcity of labourers at public works, much retarded the construction of a number of necessary buildings. The island possessed the best of stone, lime, and timber; but, unfortunately, there never had been but one mason there.

At Cascade Bay a great advantage had been gained in the construction of a very strong wharf, at the end of which is a swinging crane and capstern. Near this wharf, a large store-house and barracks are built.

A well-constructed water-mill has been erected, which grinds twenty bushels of wheat a day.

The abundance of mill-stones, and the quantity of wood fit for millwright's work, with the convenient situation of the different streams, will admit of any number of water-mills being erected.

Two well-finished wind-mills had also been built by settlers, which answered extremely well.

Not more than ten settlers had been able to erect dwellings better than log-huts, which are neither warm nor durable. Of schools there were two, viz., one for young children, who were instructed by women of good character; and the other kept by a man who taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. A third institution on a permanent footing was added, for the reception of such orphan female children as had lost or been deserted by their parents.

The number of births at Norfolk Island, from November 12th, 1791, to September 31st, 1796, amounted to 191, and that of deaths to 137.

### **State of the Flax Manufactory.**

Not more than nine men and nine women can be employed in preparing and manufacturing the flax, which barely keeps them in practice. There is only one loom on the island, and the slay or reed is designed for coarse canvas; nor do they possess a single tool required by flax-dressers or weavers, beyond the poor substitutes which they are obliged to fabricate themselves. If there were introduced proper slays or reeds,



brushes, and other articles indispensably necessary for flax-dressing and weaving, with more people to work the flax, and a greater number of weavers, this island would soon require very little assistance in clothing the convicts; but for the want of these necessary articles, the only cloth that can be made is a canvas, something finer than No. 7, which is thought to be equally strong and durable as that made from European flax.

This useful plant needs no cultivation. An experiment has been made to cultivate it, and answered extremely well; but the produce was not so much superior to that growing in a natural state, as to make it advisable to bestow any pains on its culture.

Before the arrival of the two New Zealanders, in May, 1793, no effectual progress had been made in its manufacture; nor was it without much entreaty that our visitors were induced to furnish the information required of them. And indeed, as this work is principally performed by the women in New Zealand, our friends were by no means competent to give us the fullest instructions; sufficient, however, was obtained from them to improve upon.

### **Account of the New Zealanders.**

The New Zealanders mentioned in the preceding account of the flax manufactory, at Norfolk Island, remained, as has been already shown, six months at that settlement. As they resided at the Lieutenant-Governor's, and under his constant attention, some information respecting New Zealand and its inhabitants was procured, which was obligingly communicated by Governor King, in substance as follows:—

Hoo-doo Co-co-ly To-wa ma-how-ey was, at the time of his capture, about twenty-four years of age; five feet eight inches high; of an athletic make; his features like those of a European, and very interesting. He is of the district of Teer-a-witte, which, by the chart of Too-gee, the other New Zealander, is a district of the same name, but does not lie so far to the southward as the part of Ea-hei-no-mawe, called Teer-a-witte by Captain Cook; for we are certain that Too-gee's residence is about the Bay of Islands; and they both agreed that the distance between their dwellings is only two days' journey by land, and one day by water. Hoo-doo is nearly related to Po-vo-reek, who is the principal chief of Teer-a-witte. He had two wives and one child, about whose safety he seemed very apprehensive; and almost every evening, at the close of



the day, he, as well as Too-gee, lamented their separation in a sort of half-crying and half-singing, expressive of grief, and which was at times very affecting.

Too-gee Te-ter-re-nu-e Warri-pe-do is of the same age as Hoo-doo; but about three inches shorter; he is stout and well made, and, like Hoo-doo, of an olive complexion, with strong black hair. Both are tattooed on the hips. Too-gee's features are rather handsome and interesting; his nose is aquiline, and he has good teeth. He is a native of the district of Ho-do-doe, (which is in Doubtless Bay), of which district Too-gee's father is the Etang-a-roah, or high priest; and to that office the son succeeds at his father's death. Beside his father, who is a very old man, he has left a wife and child; about all of whom he was very anxious and uneasy, as well as about the chief, (Moo-de-wy,) whom he represented as a very worthy character. Too-gee had a decided preference to Hoo-doo, both in disposition and manners; although the latter was not wanting in a certain degree of good nature, but he could at times be very much of the savage. Hoo-doo, like a true patriot, thinks there is no country, people, nor customs, equal to his own; on which account he was much less curious as to what he saw about him than his companion Too-gee, who has the happy art of insinuating himself into every person's esteem. Except at times, when he was lamenting the absence of his family and friends, he was cheerful, often facetious, and very intelligent.

At the time they were taken from New Zealand, Too-gee was on a visit to Hoo-doo; and the mode of their capture was thus related by them. The "Dædalus" appeared in sight of Hoo-doo's habitation. Curiosity, and the hope of getting some iron, induced Povoreek a chief, Too-gee, and Hoo-doo, with his brother and one of his wives, and the priest, to approach her; and after some time, being joined by several other canoes, that in which were Too-gee and Hoo-doo ventured alongside. Lieutenant Hanson (of whose kindness they speak in the highest terms) invited them on board; and, contrary to the advice of their friends, they complied with his invitation, when, to use their own expression, they were blinded by the curious things that they saw, and prevailed on to go below, where they ate some meat. At this time the ship made sail. One of them saw the canoes astern; and when they perceived that the ship was leaving them, they became frantic with grief, and broke the cabin windows with an intention of leaping overboard, but were prevented. While those in the canoes



remained within hearing, they advised Povoreek to make the best of his way home, for fear that he too should be taken. For some time after their arrival at Norfolk Island they were very sullen, and as anxiously avoided giving any information respecting the flax, as our people endeavoured to obtain it. This was afterwards discovered to have arisen from the apprehension of being obliged to work at it. By kind treatment, however, and indulgence in their own inclinations, they soon became more sociable; and, on being promised that so soon as they had taught our women "emou-ha-ea-ra-ka-he," (*i.e.*,) to work the flax, they should be sent home again, they readily consented to give all the information they possessed, and which turned out to be very little. This operation was found to be among them the peculiar province of the women; and as Hoo-doo was a warrior, and Too-gee a priest, they gave the Governor to understand that dressing of flax never made any part of their studies.

When they began to understand each other, Too-gee was not only very inquisitive respecting England, &c. (the situation of which, as well as that of New Zealand, Norfolk Island, and Port Jackson, he well knew how to find by means of a coloured general chart); but was also very communicative respecting his own country. Perceiving that he was not thoroughly understood, he delineated a sketch of New Zealand with chalk on the floor of a room set apart for that purpose. From a comparison which Governor King made with Captain Cook's plan of those islands, a sufficient similitude to the form of the northern island was discovered, to render this attempt an object of curiosity; and Too-gee was persuaded to describe his delineation on paper. This being done with a pencil, corrections and additions were occasionally made by him, and the names of districts and other remarks were written from his information during the six months that he remained there. According to Too-gee's chart and information, Ea-hei-no-mawe, the place of his residence, and the northern island of New Zealand, is divided into eight districts, governed by their respective chiefs, and others who are subordinate to them. The largest of those districts is T'souduckey, the inhabitants of which are in an almost constant state of warfare with the other tribes. They are not, however, without intervals of peace, at which times they visit, and carry on a traffic for flax and the green talc-stone, of which they make axes and ornaments. Too-gee obstinately denied that the whole of the New



Zealanders were cannibals; it was not without much difficulty that he could be persuaded to enter on the subject, or to pay the least attention to it; but when he did, it was to express the greatest horror at the idea; he was, however, at last brought to acknowledge, that all the inhabitants of Poo-nam-moo (*i.e.*, the southern island) and those of T'souduckey ate the enemies whom they took in battle; which Hoo-doo corroborated, for his father was killed and eaten by the T'souduckey people. "Notwithstanding the general probity of our visitors, particularly of Too-gee, (says Captain King,) I am inclined to think that that horrible banquet is general through both islands."

We are told, that the inferior classes are perfectly subordinate to their superiors; and such was supposed to be the case from the great deference always paid by Too-gee to Hoo-doo.

Etang-a-téda Eti-ket-ti-ca, means a principal chief, or man in very great authority. This superior consequence is signified by a repetition of the word eti-ket-ti-ca. This title appears hereditary. Etangaroah, or E-ta-hon-ga, is a priest; whose authority in many cases is equal, and in some superior to the etiketica.

"Etan-ga-teda Epo-di, a subordinate chief or gentleman."

"Ta-ha-ne Emoki, a labouring man."

Respecting the customs and manners of these people, the Governor favoured the writer with the following particulars:—

"The New Zealanders inter their dead; they also believe, that the third day after the interment the heart separates itself from the corpse; and that this separation is announced by a gentle breeze of wind, which gives warning of its approach to an inferior Ea-tooa (or divinity) that hovers over the grave, and who carries it to the clouds. In his chart Too-gee has marked an imaginary road which goes the lengthways of Ea-hei-no-mawe, viz., from Cook's Strait to the North Cape, which Too-gee calls Terry-inga. While the soul is received by the good Ea-tooa, an evil spirit is also in readiness to carry the impure part of the corpse to the above road, along which it is carried to Terry-inga, whence it is precipitated into the sea.

Suicide is very common among the New Zealanders; and this they often commit by hanging themselves on the slightest occasion: thus, a woman who has been beaten by her husband will perhaps hang herself immediately. In this mode of putting an end to their existence, both our visitors seemed to be perfect adepts, having often threatened to hang themselves, if they were not sent back to their own country. As these threats,



however, were used in their gloomy moments, they were soon laughed out of them.

It could not be discovered that they had any other division of time than the revolution of the moon, until the number amounted to one hundred, which they term "Ta-tee E-ton," *i.e.*, one Eton or hundred moons; and it is thus they count their age, and calculate all other events.

Hoo-doo and Too-gee both agreed that a great quantity of manufactured flax might be obtained for trifles, such as axes, chisels, &c., and said, that in most places the flax grows naturally in great quantities; in other parts it is cultivated by separating the roots, and planting them out, three in one hole, at the distance of a foot from each other. They gave, however, a decided preference to the flax-plant of Norfolk Island, both for quantity and size.

"Much other information (says Governor King) was given by these natives; but as it may be liable to great errors, I forbear repeating it; for, though we could make our ideas known, and tolerably well understood by them, and they too, by intermixing what English words they knew with what we knew of their language, could make themselves sufficiently understood for common purposes, yet I do not pretend to be qualified for details of any length."

It has been already said, that Governor King went himself to New Zealand with Hoo-doo and Too-gee. The following are his remarks on his voyage thither:—

"Having rounded the North Cape of New Zealand on the 12th of November, 1793, the fourth day after leaving Norfolk, we saw a number of houses and a small hippah on an island which lies off the North Cape, and called by Too-gee, Moo-de-Moo-too. Soon after, we opened a very considerable hippah, or fortified place, situated on a high round hill, just within the cave, whence six large canoes were seen coming towards the ship. As soon as they came within hail, Too-gee was known by those in the canoes, which were soon increased to seven, with upwards of twenty men in each. They came alongside without any entreaty, and those who came on board were much rejoiced to meet with Too-gee, whose first and earnest inquiries were after his family and chief. On those heads he received the most satisfactory intelligence from a woman of the party who was a relation of his mother. His father and the chief were still inconsolable for his loss: It was remarked,



that, although there were upwards of a hundred New Zealanders on board and alongside, yet Too-gee confined his caresses and conversation to his mother's relation, and one or two chiefs, who were distinguished by the marks (a-mo-ko) on their faces, and by the respectful behaviour which was shown them by the emokis (*i.e.*, the working men) who paddled the canoes, and who at times were beaten most unmercifully by the chiefs. To those who, by Too-gee's account were epodis (subaltern chiefs), and well known to him, I gave some chisels, hand-axes, and other articles equally acceptable. A traffic soon commenced. Pieces of old iron hoops were given in exchange for abundance of manufactured flax, cloth, potatoos, spears, talc ornaments, paddles, fish-hooks, and lines. At seven in the evening they left us, and we made sail to run for the Bay of Islands, (which we understood was Too-gee's residence,) and from which we were twenty-four leagues distant. At nine o'clock a canoe with four men came alongside, and jumped on board without any fear. After supper Too-gee and Hoo-doo asked the strangers for the news of their country since they had been taken away. This was complied with by the four strangers, who began a song, in which each of them took a part, sometimes using fierce and savage gestures, and at other times sinking their voices, according to the different passages or events that they were relating. Hoo-doo, who was paying great attention to the subject of their song, suddenly burst into tears, occasioned by an account which they were giving of the T'souduckey tribe having made an irruption on Teer-a-witte, (Hoo-doo's district,) and killed the chief's son, with thirty warriors. He was too much affected to hear more; but retired into a corner of the cabin, where he gave vent to his grief, which was only interrupted by his threats of revenge.

"Owing to calm weather, little progress was made during the night. At daylight on the 13th, a number of canoes were seen coming from the hippah; in the largest of which were thirty-six men and a chief, who was standing up, making signals with great earnestness. On his coming alongside, Too-gee recognized the chief to be Ko-to-ko-ke, who is the etiketika, or principal chief of the hippah. The old chief, who appeared to be about seventy years of age, had not a visible feature, the whole of his face being tattooed with spiral lines. At his coming on board he embraced Too-gee with great affection. Too-gee then introduced me to him; and after the ceremony of "ahong-i," (*i.e.*, joining noses) he took off his ah-a-how, or



mantle, and put it on my shoulders. I in return gave him a mantle made of green baize, and decorated with broad arrows. Soon after, several other canoes, with upwards of twenty men and women in each, came alongside. At Too-gee's desire the poop was "eta-boo," *i.e.*, all access to it by any other than the old chief, forbidden. To wait the event of the calm, or the wind coming from the northward, might have detained the ship some days longer. Could I have reached in four days from leaving Norfolk Island the place where Too-gee lived, I certainly should have landed him there; but that not being the case, (as this was the fifth day,) I did not consider myself justifiable in detaining the ship longer than was absolutely necessary to land them in a place of safety, and from which they might get to their homes.

"Notwithstanding the information which Too-gee had received, and the confidence that he placed in the chief, I felt much anxiety about our two friends, and expressed to Too-gee my apprehensions that what he had heard might be an invention of Ko-to-ko-ke's and his people to get them and their effects into their power. To this Too-gee replied with an honest confidence, that "etiketica no eteka," *i.e.*, a chief never deceives. I then explained to the chief by the means of Too-gee how much I was interested in their getting to Ho-do-do; adding, that in three moons I should return to Ho-do-do; and if I found that Too-gee and Hoo-doo were safe arrived with their effects, I would then return to Moo-dee When-u-a, and make him very considerable presents, in addition to those which I should now give him and his people for their trouble in conducting our two friends to their residence. I had so much reason to be convinced of the old man's sincerity, that I considered it injurious to threaten him with punishment for failing in his engagement. The only answer Ko-to-ko-ke made was, by putting both his hands to the sides of his head, (making me perform the same ceremony,) and joining our noses; in which position we remained, I should suppose, full three minutes, the old chief muttering what I did not understand. After this he went through the same ceremony with our two friends, which ended with a dance, when the two latter joined noses with me, and said that Ko-to-ko-ke was now become their father, and would in person conduct them to Ho-do-do (which was very faithfully performed).

"While I was preparing what I meant to give them, Too-gee (who I am now convinced was a priest) had made a circle



of the New Zealanders round him, in the centre of which was the old chief, and recounted what he had seen during his absence. At many passages they gave a shout of admiration. Fearing that they doubted his veracity when he told them that he had been only three days from Norfolk Island, he produced a cabbage, which he assured them had been cut only five days before from my garden. This convincing proof produced a general shout of surprise.

“Everything being now ready for their departure, our two friends requested that Ko-to-ko-ke might see the soldiers exercise and fire. To this I could have no objection, as the request came from them; but took that opportunity of explaining to the chief, that he might see, by our treatment of him and his two countrymen, that it was our wish and intention to be good neighbours and friends, with all Ea-hei-no-mawe; adding that these weapons were never used but when we were injured.

“About one hundred and fifty New Zealanders were seated on the larboard side of the deck, and the detachment paraded on the opposite side. After going through the manual, and firing three volleys, two great guns were fired, one loaded with a single ball, and the other with grape shot, which surprised them greatly.

“After this we separated, Too-gee and Hoo-doo taking an affectionate leave of every person on board, and reminding me of my promise of visiting them again; when, they said, they would return with me to Norfolk Island and take their families.

“The venerable chief, after having taken great pains to pronounce my name, and made me well acquainted with his, got into his canoe. On putting off from the ship, they were saluted with three cheers, which they returned as well as they could, by Too-gee’s directions. Two hours after their departure we sailed, and, after a passage of five days from New Zealand, and ten days’ absence from Norfolk Island, I landed in the afternoon of the 18th.

“The little intercourse that I had with the New Zealanders does not enable me to say much respecting them, or to form any decisive opinion of them; as much of their friendly behaviour in this slight interview might be owing to our connexion with Too-gee and Hoo-doo, and their being with us. These two worthy savages (if the term may be allowed) will, I am confident, ever retain the most grateful remembrance of the kindness they received on Norfolk Island; and if the



greater part of their countrymen have but a small portion of the amiable disposition of Too-gee and Hoo-doo, they certainly are a people between whom and the English colonists a good understanding may with common prudence and precaution be cultivated. I regret very much that the service on which the "Britannia" was ordered did not permit me to detain her longer; as in a few days, with the help of our two friends, much useful information might have been obtained respecting the quantity of manufactured flax that might be procured; which I think would be of high importance, if better known. The great quantity that was procured, in exchange for small pieces of iron hoop, is a proof, that an abundance of this valuable article is manufactured among them."

### **Remarks on the Manners and Customs of the Natives of New South Wales.**

The reader of the preceding narrative will have seen, that after many untoward occurrences, and a considerable lapse of time, that friendly intercourse with the natives which had been so earnestly desired was at length established; and having never been materially interrupted, these remote islanders have been shown living in considerable numbers among the inhabitants of Sydney, without fear or restraint; acquiring their language; readily falling in with their manners and customs; enjoying the comforts of their clothing, and relishing the variety of their food. They saw them die in their houses, and the places of the deceased instantly filled by others, who observed nothing in the state of their predecessors to deter them from living as they had seen them do, and placing the same entire confidence in their entertainers which they had done, and which it was the interest as well as pleasure of those to cultivate. They were allowed to be in general their own masters, and rarely interrupted in any of their designs: judging that by suffering them to live as they had been used to do, an earlier knowledge of their customs and manners would be attained, than by waiting to acquire their language. On this principle, whenever they assembled to dance or to fight before the houses, they were never dispersed; but, on the contrary, these meetings were attended by all the principal people of the settlement. This attention appeared to be agreeable as well as useful; for if any of them were wounded in the contest, it was their practice to look for one of the English



surgeons, in whom they placed entire confidence, and showed great bravery in the firmness with which they bore the knife and the probe.

By slow degrees both parties began mutually to be pleased with, and to understand each other. Language, indeed, was out of the question; for at the time of writing this (September, 1796,) nothing but a barbarous mixture of English with the Port Jackson dialect was spoken by either party; and it must be added, that even in this the natives had the advantage; comprehending, with much greater aptness than the English could pretend to, everything that they heard them say. From a pretty close observation, however, assisted by the use of the barbarous dialect just mentioned, the following particulars respecting the natives of New South Wales have been collected:—

### **Government.**

The natives about Botany Bay, Port Jackson, and Broken Bay, were found living in that state of nature which must have been common to all men previous to their uniting in society, and acknowledging but one authority. These people are distributed into families, the head or senior of which exacts compliance from the rest. In the early intercourse with them (and indeed at a much later period, on the English meeting with families to whom they were unknown) they were always accosted by the person who appeared to be the eldest of the party; while the women, youths, and children, were kept at a distance. The word which in their language signifies father was applied to their old men; and when, after some time, and by close observation, they perceived the authority with which Governor Phillip commanded, and the obedience which he exacted, they bestowed on him the distinguishing appellation of Be-anna, or father. This title being conferred solely on him (although they perceived the authority of masters over their servants) places the true sense of the word beyond a doubt, and proves that to those among them who enjoyed that distinction belonged the authority of a chief.

When any of these went into the town, they were immediately pointed out by their companions, or those natives who resided in it, in a whisper, and with an eagerness of manner which, while it commanded the attention of those to whom it was directed, impressed them likewise with an idea that they were looking at persons remarkable for some superior quality



even among the savages of New Holland. Another acceptation of the word *Be-anna*, however, soon became evident; for it was observed to be frequently applied by children to men who were known to have no children. On inquiry, however, it was understood, that in case a father should die, the nearest of kin, or some deputed friend, would take care of his children; and were by them styled *Be-anna*. Here, if the reader pauses for a moment, to consider the difference between the general conduct of our baptismal sponsors (to whose duties this custom bears much resemblance), and the humane practice of these uncivilised people, will not the comparison suffuse his cheek with something like shame, at seeing the enlightened Christian so distanced, in the race of humanity, by the untutored savage, who has hitherto been the object of both his pity and contempt? But sorry is the historian to recollect, what as a faithful narrator he is compelled to relate, one particular in their customs that is wholly irreconcilable with the humane duties which they have prescribed to themselves in the above instance; duties which relate only to those children who, in the event of losing the mother, could live without her immediate aid. A far different lot is reserved for such as are at that time at the breast, or in a state of absolute helplessness, as will be seen hereafter.

We have mentioned their being divided into families. Each family has a particular place of residence, from which is derived its distinguishing name. This is formed by adding the monosyllable *gal* to the name of the place: thus, the southern shore of Botany Bay is called *Gwea*, and the people who inhabit it style themselves *Gweagal*. Those who live on the north shore of Port Jackson are called *Cam-mer-ray-gal*, that part of the harbour being distinguished from others by the name of *Cam-mer-ray*. Of this last family, or tribe, the settlers had heard *Ben-nil-long* and other natives speak (before they were otherwise known) as of a very powerful people, who could oblige them to attend wherever and whenever they directed. They were afterwards found to be by far the most numerous tribe yet discovered. It so happened, that they were also the most robust and muscular, and that among them were several of the people styled *Car-rah-dy* and *Car-rah-di-gang*, of which extraordinary personages we shall have to speak particularly, under the article *Superstition*.

To the tribe of *Cam-me-ray* also belonged the exclusive and extraordinary privilege of exacting a tooth from the natives



of other tribes inhabiting the sea-coast, or of all such as were within their authority. The exercise of this privilege places these people in a particular point of view; and there is no doubt of their decided superiority. Many contests, or decisions of honour (for such there are among them), have been delayed until the arrival of these people; and when they came, it was impossible not to observe the superiority and influence which their number and their muscular appearance gave them.

These are all the traces that could ever be discovered among them of government or subordination; and we may imagine the deference which is paid to the tribe of Cam-mer-ray, to be derived wholly from their superiority of numbers; but this superiority they have probably maintained for a length of time; and, indeed, the privilege of demanding a tooth from the young men of other families must have been of long standing, and coëval with the obedience which was paid to them: hence their superiority partakes something of the nature of a constituted authority; an authority which has the sanction of custom to plead for its continuance.

### Religion.

It has been asserted by an eminent divine\*, that no country has yet been discovered where some trace of religion was not to be found. From every observation and inquiry that could be made among these people, they appear an exception to this opinion. It is certain, that they do not worship either sun, moon, or star; that however necessary fire may be to them, it is not an object of adoration; neither have they respect for any particular beast, bird, or fish. Nor could any object ever be discovered, either substantial or imaginary, that impelled them to the commission of good actions, or deterred them from the perpetration of what we deem crimes. There indeed existed among them some idea of a future state, but not connected in anywise with religion; for it had no influence whatever on their lives and actions. On their being often questioned as to what became of them after their decease, some answered that they went either on or beyond the great water; but by far the greater number signified, that they went to the clouds. The author conversing with Ben-nil-long after his return from England, where he had obtained much knowledge

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\*Blair's Sermons, Vol. i., Sermon 1.



of our customs and manners, wishing to learn what were his ideas of the place from which his countrymen came, led him to the subject, by observing, that all the white men at Port Jackson had come from England, and then asked him where the black men (or Eora) came from? He hesitated.—Did they come from any island? His answer was, that he knew of none: they came from the clouds (alluding, perhaps, to the aborigines of the country); and when they died, they returned to the clouds (Boo-row-e). He seemed desirous to make it understood that they ascended in the shape of little children, first hovering in the tops and in the branches of trees; and mentioned something about eating (in that state) their favourite food, little fishes.

If this idea of the immortality of the soul should excite a smile, let the mocker ask himself, if it be more ridiculous than the belief which many among us entertain, that at the last day the various disjointed bones of men shall find out each its proper owner, and be re-united; the savage here treads close upon the footsteps of the Christian.

The young natives who resided at Sydney were very desirous of going to church on Sunday, but knew not for what purpose anyone attended. They were often seen to take a book, and with much success imitate the clergyman in his manner (indeed, better or readier mimics can nowhere be found), laughing and enjoying the applause which they received.

An account has appeared in a pamphlet, or a newspaper, of a native throwing himself in the way of a man who was about to shoot a crow; and the person who wrote the account drew an inference, that the bird was an object of worship; but it can be with confidence affirmed, that, so far from dreading to see a crow killed, they are very fond of eating their flesh, and take the following particular method to ensnare that bird: a native will stretch himself on a rock, as if asleep in the sun, holding a piece of fish in his hand; the bird, be it hawk or crow, seeing the prey, and not observing any motion in the native, pounces on the fish; and in an instant of seizing it is caught by the savage, who soon throws it on the fire, and makes a meal, that, for enjoyment, might be envied by an epicure.

That they have ideas of a distinction between good and bad, is evident from their having terms in their language significant of these qualities. Thus, the sting-ray was (wee-re) bad; it was a fish of which they never ate. The patta-go-rang or



kangaroo was (bood-yer-re) good, and they were very fond of it.

To exalt these people at all above the brute creation, it is necessary to show that they have the gift of reason, and that they knew the distinction between right and wrong, as well as between what food was good and what was bad. Of these latter qualities their senses informed them; but the knowledge of right and wrong could only proceed from reason. It is true, they had no distinction or terms for these qualities; wee-re and bood-yer-re alike implying what was good and bad, and right and wrong. Instances, however, were not wanting, of their using them to describe the sensations of the mind as well as of the senses: thus, their enemies were wee-re; their friends bood-yer-re. On being spoken to, of cannibalism, they expressed great horror at the mention, and said it was wee-re. On seeing any of the people who had ill-treated them punished, they expressed their approbation, by saying it was bood-yer-re. Midnight murders, though frequently practised among them whenever passion or revenge dictated, they reprobated, but applauded acts of kindness and generosity; for of both these they were capable. A man who would not stand to have a spear thrown at him, but ran away, was a coward, jee-run, and wee-re. But their knowledge of the difference between right and wrong certainly never extended beyond their existence in this world; not leading them to believe that the practice of either had any relation to their future state: this was manifest from their idea of quitting this world, or rather of entering the next, in the form of little children, under which form they would reappear in this.

### **Stature and Appearance.**

Very few men or women among them could be said to be tall, and still fewer were well made. At one time a dwarf, a female, appeared among them, who, when she stood upright, measured about four feet two inches: none of her limbs were disproportioned, nor were her features unpleasant; and she had a child at her back. The other natives seemed to make her an object of their merriment. In general, indeed almost universally, the limbs of these people were small; of most of them the arms, legs, and thighs were very thin. This, no doubt, is owing to the pooriness of their living, which is chiefly on fish; otherwise the fineness of the climate, co-operating



with the exercise which they take, might have rendered them more muscular. Those who live on the sea-coast depend entirely on fish for their sustenance; while the few who dwell in the woods subsist on such animals as they can catch. The very great labour necessary for taking these animals, and the scantiness of the supply, keep the wood natives in as poor a condition as their brethren on the coast. It has been remarked, that these natives had longer arms and legs than those who lived about Sydney. This might proceed from their being compelled to climb the trees, after honey, and the small animals which resort to them, such as the flying squirrel and opossum, which they effect by cutting with their stone hatchets notches in the bark of the tree of a sufficient depth and size to receive the ball of the great toe. The first notch being cut, the toe is placed in it; and while the left arm embraces the tree, a second is cut at a convenient distance to receive the other foot. By this method they ascend with astonishing quickness, always clinging with the left hand and cutting with the right, resting the whole weight of the body on the ball of either foot. One of the gum trees was observed by a party on an excursion, which was judged to be about one hundred and thirty feet in height, and which had been notched by the natives at least eighty feet.

The features of many of these people were far from unpleasing, particularly of the women; in general, the black bushy beards of the men, and the bone or reed which they thrust through the cartilage of the nose, tended to give them a disgusting appearance; but in the women, that feminine delicacy which is to be found among white people was to be traced even upon their sable cheeks; and, though entire strangers to the comforts and conveniences of clothing, yet they sought with a native modesty to conceal by attitude what the want of covering would otherwise have revealed: bringing to the recollection of those who observed them,

“The bending statue which enchants the world,”

though, it must be owned, that the resemblance consisted solely in the position.

Both sexes use the disgusting practice of rubbing fish oil into their skins; but they are compelled to this as a guard against the effects of the air, and of mosquitoes, and flies; some of which are large, and bite or sting with much severity. But



the oil, together with the perspiration from their bodies, produces, in hot weather, a most horrible stench. Some of them have been seen with the entrails of fish frying in the burning sun upon their heads, until the oil ran down over their foreheads. To their hair, by means of the yellow gum, they fasten the front teeth of the kangaroo, and the jaw-bones of a large fish, human teeth, pieces of wood, feathers of birds, the tail of the dog, and certain bones taken out of a fish, not unlike human teeth. The natives who inhabit the shore of Botany Bay divide the hair into small parcels, each of which they mat together with gum, and form them into lengths like the thrums of a mop. On particular occasions, they ornament themselves with red and white clay, using the former when preparing to fight, the latter for the more peaceful amusement of dancing. The fashion of these adornments was left to each person's taste; and some, when decorated in their very best manner, looked perfectly horrible. Nothing could appear more terrible than a black and dismal face, with a large white circle drawn round each eye, waved lines down each arm, thigh, and leg; some with chequers daubed and lines drawn over each rib: these presented most spectre-like figures. Previous to either a dance or a combat, they were always found busily employed in these necessary preliminaries. Both sexes are ornamented with scars upon the breast, arms, and back, which are cut with broken pieces of the shell that they use at the end of the throwing-stick. By their keeping open these incisions, the flesh grows up between the sides of the wound, and after a time, skinning over, forms a large weal or seam.

The women are early subjected to an uncommon mutilation of the two first joints of the little finger of the left hand. This operation is performed when they are very young, and is done under an idea that these joints of the little finger are in the way when they wind their fishing lines over the hand. Very few were to be met with who had not undergone this ceremony, and these appeared to be held in contempt.

The men too were not without their mutilation, most of those who lived on the sea-coast having lost the right front tooth; but a particular account of the ceremonies used on this occasion will be found hereafter, under the article Customs and Manners.

Few deformities of person were noticed among them; once or twice the print of inverted feet have been found on the sand. Round shoulders or hump-backs were never observed in any



one instance, yet no women could be more inattentive to their young than these savages; frequent instances occurred of infants rolling into the fire, and being dreadfully burnt, while their mother slept beside them; indeed, these people are extremely difficult to awaken when once asleep.

Their sight is peculiarly fine; indeed, their existence very often depends upon the accuracy of it; for a short-sighted man (a misfortune unknown among them, and not yet introduced by fashion, nor relieved by the use of a glass) would never be able to defend himself from their spears, which are thrown with amazing force and velocity.

The colour of these people is not in all cases the same: some have been seen who, even when cleansed from the smoke and filth which were always to be found on their persons, were nearly as black as the African negro; while others have exhibited only a copper or Malay colour. The natural covering of their heads is not wool, as in most other black people, but hair; this was particularly remarked in Ben-nil-long after his return from England, where some attention to his dress had been paid; he was found to have long black hair: black, indeed, was the general colour, though some few were seen to have it of a reddish cast.

Their noses are flat, nostrils wide, eyes much sunk in the head, and covered with thick eye-brows; in addition to which, they wear tied round the head, a net, the breadth of the forehead, made of the fur of the opossum, which, when wishing to see very clearly, they draw over their eye-brows, thereby contracting the light. Their lips are thick, and the mouth extravagantly wide; but when opened discovers two rows of white, even, and sound teeth. Many have very prominent jaws.

### **Habitations.**

Their habitations are as rude as imagination can conceive. The hut of the woodman is made of the bark of a single tree, bent in the middle, and placed on its two ends on the ground, affording shelter to only one miserable tenant. These they never carry about with them. On the sea-coast the huts were larger, formed of pieces of bark from several trees put together in the form of an oven, with an entrance, and large enough to hold six or eight people. Their fire was always at the mouth of the hut, rather within than without; and the interior was in general the most nasty smoke-dried place that



can be conceived. Besides these bark huts, they made use of excavations in the rock. At the mouths of these excavations was noticed a luxuriance of soil; and on turning up the ground, it was found rich with shells and other manure. These proved a valuable resource to the settlement; as many loads of shells were burnt into lime, while the other parts were wheeled into the gardens.

In their huts and their caves they lie down indiscriminately mixed, men, women, and children together; and appear to possess under them much the same enjoyment as may be supposed to be found by the brute beast in his den, shelter from the weather, and, if not disturbed by external enemies, the comfort of sleep.

The extreme soundness with which they sleep invites jealousy, or revenge for other wrongs, to arm the hand of the assassin. Many instances of this occurred; one of which was rendered remarkable, by the murderer first taking a sleeping infant from the arms of the father whom he was about to deprive of existence: the child he brought to Sydney to be taken care of.

Being themselves sensible of the danger they were in while asleep, they eagerly sought to obtain puppies of the spaniel and terrier breeds from the settlers, which they considered as invaluable guardians during the night.

### **Mode of Living.**

The natives on the sea-coast, and who are the most known, have little other support than fish. Men, women, and children, are employed in procuring them; but the means used are different according to the sex of the fisher; the men killing them with the fiz-gig, while the females use the hook and line. The fiz-gig is made of the wattle; has a joint in it, fastened by gum; is from fifteen to twenty feet in length, and armed with four barbed prongs; the barb being a piece of bone secured by gum.

The lines used by the women are made by themselves of the bark of a small tree which they find in the neighbourhood. Their hooks are made of the mother-of-pearl oyster, which they rub on a stone until it assumes the shape that they want. Though these hooks are not barbed, they catch fish with them with great facility.



While fishing, the women sing. In their canoes, they always carry a small fire laid upon sea-weed or sand, with which, when desirous of eating, they dress their meal.

The woods, exclusive of the animals which they occasionally find in their neighbourhood, afford them but little sustenance; a few berries, the yam and fern-root, the flowers of the different banksia, and at times some honey, make up the whole vegetable catalogue.

The natives who live in the woods, and on the margins of rivers, are compelled to seek a different subsistence, and are driven to a harder exercise of their abilities to procure it; one instance of which has been given in the manner of their climbing trees: they have, besides, a laborious method of ensnaring animals.

These wood natives make a paste formed of the fern-root and the ant bruised together; in the season, they also add the eggs of this insect.

### **Courtship and Marriage.**

How will the refined ear of gallantry be wounded at the reading an account of the courtship of these people! It has been said, that there was a delicacy visible in the manners of the females. Is it not shocking then to think, that the prelude to love should be violence? Yet such it is in their country, and violence of the most brutal nature. These unfortunate victims of lust and cruelty (it will admit of no better term) are, it is believed, always selected from the women of a different tribe from that of the males, (for they ought not to be dignified with the title of men,) and with whom they are at enmity. Secrecy is necessarily observed, and the poor wretch is stolen upon in the absence of her protectors. Being first stupefied with blows, inflicted with clubs or wooden swords, on the head, back, and shoulders, every one of which is followed by a stream of blood, she is then dragged through the woods by one arm, with a perseverance and violence that it might be supposed would displace it from its socket. The lover, or rather the ravisher, is regardless of the stones or broken pieces of trees which may lie in his route, being anxious only to convey his prize, in safety, to his own party, where a scene ensues too shocking to relate. This outrage is not resented by the relations of the female, who only retaliate by a similar outrage when they find an opportunity. This is



so constantly the practice among them, that even the children make it a play-game or exercise.

The women thus ravished become their wives, are incorporated into the tribes to which their husbands belong, and but seldom quit them for others.

Many of the men do not confine themselves to one woman. Ben-nil-long, previous to his visit to England, was possessed of two wives, both living with him and attending on him wherever he went. One, named Ba-rang-a-roo, lived with him at the time he was seized and taken a captive to the settlement; and before her death he had brought off from Botany Bay, by the violence before described, Go-roo-bar-roo-bool-lo; and she continued with him until his departure for England. It was understood that all the natives on the banks of the Hawkesbury had two wives; and indeed, on the whole, more instances were known of plurality of wives than of monogamy. In no one instance had they been observed to have children by both women; and in general, as might be expected, the two females were always jealous of, and quarrelling with each other; though it was understood, that the first wife claimed a priority of attachment, and an exclusive right to the conjugal embrace; while the second or latter choice was compelled to be the drudge and slave of both.

Chastity was a virtue in which, certainly, neither sex prided themselves; yet the females, having discovered that the white people thought it shameful to be seen naked, became, at least many of them, extremely delicate and reserved in this respect when before them; but when in the presence of their own people, they were perfectly indifferent about their appearance.

### **Customs and Manners.**

During the time of parturition these people suffer none but females to be present. War-re-weer, Ben-nil-long's sister, being taken in labour while in the town, an opportunity offered of observing them in that critical juncture; of which some of the women, who were favourites with the girl, were desired to avail themselves; and from them were obtained the following particulars:—

During her labour one female was employed in pouring cold water from time to time on the abdomen, while another, tying one end of a small line round War-re-weer's neck, with the other end rubbed her own lips until they bled. She derived



no actual assistance from those about her, the child coming into the world by the sole effort of nature; neither did anyone receive it from her; but one of the white women divided the umbilical cord and washed the child, which the mother readily permitted, although the other natives strongly objected to it. The poor creature appeared much exhausted.

Ben-nil-long's wife, a few hours after she had been delivered of a child, was seen walking about alone and picking up sticks to mend her fire. The infant, whose skin appeared to have a reddish cast, was lying in a piece of soft bark on the ground.

The child thus produced is by the mother carried about for some days on a piece of soft bark, and, as soon as it acquires strength enough, is removed to the shoulders, where it sits with its little legs across her neck; and, taught by necessity, soon catches hold of her hair to preserve itself from falling.

The reddish cast of the skin soon gives place to the natural hue; a change that is much assisted by the smoke and dirt in which, from the moment of their existence, these little wretches are nurtured. The parents begin early to decorate them after the custom of the country; for as soon as the hair of the head can be taken hold of, fish bones and teeth of animals are fastened to it with gum. White clay ornaments their little limbs; and the females suffer the extraordinary amputation which they term *Mal-gun* before they have quitted their seat on their mother's shoulders.

At about a month or six weeks old the child receives its name. This is generally taken from some of the objects constantly before their eyes, such as a bird, a beast, or a fish, and is given without any ceremony.

From their earliest infancy the boys are accustomed to throwing the spear, and to the habit of defending themselves from it. They begin by throwing reeds at each other, and are soon very expert. They also, from the time when they can run, until prompted by manhood to realize their sports, amuse themselves with stealing the females, and treat them at this time very little better than they do then.

Between the ages of eight and sixteen, the males and females undergo the operation which they term *Gna-noong*, viz., that of having the septum of the nose bored, to receive a bone or reed, which among them is deemed a very great ornament, though the articulation is frequently rendered very imperfect by it. Between the same years also the males receive the qualifications which are given to them by losing one front



tooth. This ceremony occurred twice while the author of this narrative was in the country; and at the second of these operations he was so fortunate as to be present the whole of the time, attended by a person well qualified to make drawings of every particular circumstance that occurred.

On the 25th of January, 1795, the natives assembled in considerable numbers for the purpose of performing this ceremony; as several youths well known in the settlement, never having submitted to the operation, were now to be made men. Pe-mul-wy, a wood native, and many strangers, came in; but the principals in the operation not being arrived from Cam-mer-ray, the intermediate nights were to be passed in dancing; for which purpose they were ornamented in their best manner, and certainly displayed a variety of tastes. One was painted white to the middle, his beard and eyebrows excepted, others were distinguished by large white circles round the eyes, which rendered them as terrific as can be well imagined. It was not until the second of February that the party was complete. In the evening of that day the people from Cam-mer-ray arrived, among whom were those who were to perform the operation. They were painted after the manner of their country, were mostly provided with shields, and all armed with clubs, spears, and throwing sticks. The place selected for this extraordinary exhibition was at the head of Farm Cove, where a space had been for some days prepared by clearing it of grass, stumps, &c.; it was an oval figure, the dimensions of it 27 feet by 18, and was named Yoo-lahng.

When the author reached the spot, he found the party from the North Shore armed, and standing at one end of it; at the other were the boys who were to be given up for the purpose of losing each a tooth, with their several friends who had accompanied them.

The ceremony then began. The armed party advanced from their end of the Yoo-lahng, with a song or rather a shout peculiar to the occasion, clattering their shields and spears, and raising a dust with their feet that nearly obscured the objects around them. On reaching the children one of the party stepped from the crowd, and seizing his victim returned with him to his party, who received him with a shout louder than usual, placing him in the midst, where he seemed defended by a grove of spears from any attempts that his friends might make to rescue him. In this manner the whole were taken out, to the number of fifteen; these were seated



at the upper end of the Yoo-lahng, each holding down the head; his hands clasped, and his legs crossed under him. In this position, awkward and painful as it must have been, it was said they were to remain all night; and, until the ceremony was concluded, they were neither to look up nor take any refreshment whatsoever.

The Carrahdís now began some of their mystical rites. One of them suddenly fell upon the ground, and, throwing himself into a variety of attitudes, accompanied with every gesticulation that could be extorted by pain, appeared to be at length delivered of a bone, which was to be used in the ensuing ceremony. He was during this apparently painful process encircled by a crowd of natives, who danced around him, singing vociferously, while one or more beat him on the back until the bone was produced, and he was thereby freed from his pain.

He had no sooner risen from the ground exhausted, drooping, and bathed in sweat, than another went through the same ceremonies, and ended also with the production of a bone, with which he had prudently provided himself, and concealed it in the girdle that he wore. By these mummeries the boys were assured that the ensuing operation would be attended with little pain, and that the more these Carrahdís suffered, the less would be felt by them.

It being now perfectly dark, the author quitted the place, with an invitation to return early in the morning.

On his repairing to the place soon after daylight, he found the natives sleeping in small detached parties; and it was not until the sun had shown himself that any of them began to stir. The people of the North Shore slept by themselves, and the boys, though it had been said they were not to move, were lying also by themselves. Soon after sunrise, the Carrahdís and their party advanced in quick movements towards the Yoo-lahng, one after the other, shouting as they entered, and running twice or thrice round it. The boys were then brought to the Yoo-lahng, hanging their heads and clasping their hands. On being seated in this manner the ceremonies began, the principal performers in which appeared to be about twenty in number, and all of the tribe of Cam-mer-ray.

The exhibitions now performed were numerous and various; but all of them in their tendency pointed toward the boys, and had some allusion to the principal act of the day, which was to be the concluding scene of it. The ceremony will be



found pretty accurately represented in the annexed engraving (page 321).

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No. 1.—Represents the young men, fifteen in number, seated at the head of the Yoo-lahng, while those who were to be the operators paraded several times round it, running upon their hands and feet, and imitating the dogs of the country. Their dress was adapted to this purpose; the wooden sword stuck in the hinder part of the girdle which they wore round the waist, did not, when they were crawling on all-fours, look much unlike the tail of the dog curled over his back. Every time they passed the place where the poor dismal looking boys were seated, they threw up the sand and dust on them with their hands and their feet. During the ceremony the boys continued perfectly still and silent, never once moving themselves from the position in which they were placed, nor seeming in the least to notice the ridiculous appearance of the Carrahdís and their associates.

It was understood by this ceremony power over the dog was given to them, and that it endowed them with whatever good or beneficial qualities that animal might possess.

The dogs of this country are of the jackal species, and are of two colours; the one, red with some white about it; the other, quite black: some of them are very handsome.

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No. 2.—Represents the young men seated as before. The first figure in the plate is a stout robust native, carrying on his shoulders a *pat-ta-go-rang*, or kangaroo, made of grass; the second is carrying a load of brush-wood. The other figures seated about, are singing, and beating time to the steps of the two loaded men, who appeared as if they were almost unable to move under the weight of the burthen which they carried on their shoulders. Halting every now and then, and limping, they at last deposited their load at the feet of the young men, and retired from the Yoo-lahng, as if they were excessively fatigued by what they had done. It must be noticed, that the man who carried the brushwood had thrust one or two flowering shrubs through the septum of the nose. He exhibited an extraordinary appearance in the scene.

By this offering of the dead kangaroo was meant the power that was now given them of killing that animal; the brush-wood might represent its haunt.



No. 3.—The boys were left seated at the Yoo-lahng for about an hour; during which the actors went down into a valley near the place, where they fitted themselves with long tails made of grass, which they fastened to the hinder part of their girdles, instead of the sword, which was laid aside during the scene. Being equipped, they put themselves in motion as a herd of kangaroos, now jumping along, then lying down and scratching themselves, as those animals do when basking in the sun. One man beat time to them with a club on a shield, while two others, armed, attended them all the way, pretending to steal upon them unobserved and spear them.

This was emblematical of one of their future exercises, the hunting of the kangaroo.

The scene was altogether whimsical and curious; the valley where they equipped themselves was very romantic, and the occasion perfectly novel.

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No. 4.—On the arrival of this curious party at the Yoo-lahng, it passed by the boys as the herd of kangaroos; and then, quickly divesting themselves of their artificial tails, each man caught up a boy, and placing him on his shoulders, carried him off in triumph toward the last scene of this extraordinary exhibition. It must be remarked, that the friends and relations of the young people by no means interfered, nor attempted to molest these North Shore natives in the execution of their business.

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No. 5.—After walking a short distance, the boys were let down from the shoulders of the men, and placed in a cluster, standing with their heads inclined on their breasts, and their hands clasped together. Some of the party now disappeared for above ten minutes, to arrange the figure of the next scene. The author was not admitted to witness this business, about which they appeared to observe a greater degree of mystery and preparation than he had noticed in either of the preceding ceremonies. He was at length, however, desired to come forward, when he found the figures as placed in the plate No. 5.

The group on the left are the boys, and those who attended them; fronting them were seen two men, one seated on the stump of a tree bearing another man on his shoulders, both with their arms extended. Behind these were seen a number of bodies lying with their faces toward the ground, as close



to each other as they could lie, and at the foot of another stump of a tree, on which were placed two other figures in the same position as the preceding.

As the boys and their attendants approached the first of these figures, the men who formed it began to move themselves from side to side, lolling out their tongues, and staring as widely and horribly with their eyes as they possibly could. After this mummary had continued some minutes, the men separated for them to pass, and the boys were now led over the bodies lying on the ground. These immediately began to move, writhing as if in agony, and uttering a mournful dismal sound, like very distant thunder. Having passed over these bodies, the boys were placed before the second figures, who went through the same series of grimaces as those who were seated on the former stump; after which the whole moved forward.

A particular name, boo-roo-moo-roong, was given to this scene; but of its import very little could be learned. To the inquiries made respecting it no answer could be obtained, but that it was very good; that the boys would now become brave men; that they would see well and fight well.

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No. 6.—At a little distance from the preceding scene the whole party halted; the boys were seated by each other, while opposite to them were drawn up in a half circle the other party, now armed with the spear and shield. In the centre of this party, with his face toward them, stood Boo-der-ro, the native who had throughout taken the principal part in the business. He held his shield in one hand, and a club in the other, with which he gave them, as it were, the time for their exercise. Striking the shield with the club, at every third stroke the whole party poised and presented their spears at him, pointing them inwards, and touching the centre of his shield.

This concluded the ceremonies previous to the operation; and it appeared significant of an exercise which was to form the principal business of their lives, the use of the spear.

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No. 7.—They now commenced their preparations for striking out the tooth. The first subject they took was a boy of about ten years of age; and he was seated on the shoulders of another native, who sat on the grass, as appears in this plate.



The bone was now produced, which had been pretended to be taken from the stomach of the native the preceding evening; this, being made very sharp and fine at one end, was used for lancing the gum; and but for some such precaution it would have been impossible to have extracted the tooth without breaking the jaw-bone. A throwing-stick was now to be cut eight or ten inches from the end; and, to effect this, much ceremony was used. The stick was laid upon a tree, and three attempts to hit it were made before it was struck. The wood being very hard, and the instrument a bad tomahawk, it took several blows to divide it; but three feints were constantly made before each stroke. When the gum was properly prepared, the operation began: the smallest end of the stick was applied as high upon the tooth as the gum would admit of, while the operator stood ready with a large stone apparently to drive the tooth down the throat of his patient. Here their attention to the number three was again manifest; no stroke was actually made until the operator had thrice attempted to hit the throwing-stick. They were full ten minutes about the first operation, the tooth being, unfortunately for the boy, fixed very firm in the gum. It was at last forced out, and the sufferer was taken to a little distance, where the gum was closed by his friends, who now equipped him in the style that he was to appear in for some days. A girdle was tied round his waist, in which was stuck a wooden sword; a ligature was put round his head, in which were stuck slips of the grass-gum tree; which, being white, had a curious and not unpleasing effect. The left hand was to be placed over the mouth, which was to be kept shut; he was on no account to speak; and for that day he was not to eat. In like manner were all the others treated, except one, a pretty boy about eight or nine years of age, who, after suffering his gum to be lanced, could not endure the pain of more than one blow with the stone, and breaking from them, made his escape. During the whole of the operation, the assistants made the most hideous noise in the ears of the patients\*, sufficient to distract their attention, and to drown any cries they could possibly have uttered; but they made it a point of honour to bear the pain without a murmur.

Some other peculiarities, however, were observed. The blood that issued from the lacerated gum was not wiped away, but suffered to run down the breast, and fall upon the head

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\*Crying e-wah-e-wah, gā-ga-gā-ga, repeatedly.



of the man on whose shoulders the patient sat, and whose name was added to his. This blood remained dried upon the heads of the men, and breasts of the boys for several days. The boys were also termed Ke-bar-ra, a name which has reference in its construction to the singular instrument used on this occasion, Ke-bah in their language signifying a rock or stone.

No. 8.—This plate represents the young men arranged and sitting upon the trunk of a tree, as they appeared in the evening after the operation was over. The man is Cole-be, who is applying a broiled fish to his relation Nan-bar-ray's gum, which has suffered from the stroke more than any of the others.

Suddenly, on a signal being given, they all started up, and rushed into the town, driving before them men, women, and children who were glad to get out of their way. They were now received into the class of men; were privileged to wield the spear and the club, and to oppose their persons in combat; and might now seize such females as they chose for wives. All this, however, must be understood to import, that by having submitted to the operation, having endured the pain of it without a murmur, and having lost a front tooth, they received a qualification which they were to exercise whenever their years and their strength should be equal to it.

Ben-nil-long's sister, and Da-ring-ha, Cole-be's wife, hearing the author express a great desire to be possessed of some of these teeth, procured three of them for him. They were given with much secrecy, and great dread of being observed, and with an injunction that it should never be known that they had made him such a present, as the Cam-mer-ray tribe, to whom they were to be given, would not fail to punish them for it; and they added that they should tell them the teeth were lost.

One of the boys who had undergone the operation had formerly lived with the principal surgeon of the settlement till that gentleman's departure for England. A female relation of this boy brought his tooth to the author, with a request that he would send it to Mr. White; thus with gratitude remembering, after the lapse of some years, the attention which that gentleman had shown to her relative. These women urged the author now to quit the place, as they did not know what might ensue. He had, indeed, observed the natives arming themselves; much confusion and hurry was visible among



them, and the savage appeared to be predominating; as he retired, the signal was given, which animated the boys to the first exercise of the spirit which the business of the day had infused in them; and they rushed into the town in the manner before described, everywhere as they passed along setting the grass on fire.

Those medical gentlemen to whom the teeth were shown, declared that they could not have been better extracted, had the proper instrument been used by the hand of a dentist, instead of a stone and piece of wood in that of a savage.

On a view of all these circumstances, we should not consider this ceremony in any other light than as a tribute, were we not obliged to hesitate, by observing that all the people of Cam-mer-ray, which were those who exacted the tooth, were themselves proofs that they had submitted to the operation, every one of them having lost the front tooth. Ben-nil-long, in their early acquaintance with him and his language, told his friends, as they then thought, that a man of the name of Cam-mer-ra-gal wore all the teeth about his neck. But it was afterwards found that this term was only the distinguishing title of the tribe, which performed the ceremonies incident to the operation. Ben-nil-long at other times told them, that his own tooth was bour-bil-liey pe-mul, buried in the earth, and that others were thrown into the sea.

The natives, when speaking of the loss of this tooth, always used the words Yoo-lahng erah-ba-diahng; but to denote that of any other, bool-bag-ga was applied. The term Yoo-lahng erah-ba-diahng must therefore be considered as applying solely to this occasion; it appears to be compounded of the name given to the spot where the principal scenes take place, and of the most material qualification that is derived from the whole ceremony, that of throwing the spear. This is conceived to be the import of the word erah-ba-diahng, erah being a part of the verb to throw, erah, throw you, erailley, throwing.

Being thus entered on "the valued file," they quickly assume the consequence due to the distinction, and as soon as possible bring their faculties into action. The procuring of food really seems to be but a secondary business with them; the management of the spear and the shield, dexterity in throwing the various clubs that they have in use among them, agility in



either attacking or defending, and a display of the constancy with which they endure pain, appearing to rank first among their concerns in life. The females too are accustomed to bear on their heads the traces of the superiority of the males, with which they dignify them almost as soon as they find strength in the arm to imprint the mark. Some of these unfortunate beings have been seen with more scars upon their shorn heads, cut in every direction, than could be well distinguished or counted. The condition of these women is so wretched, that it is scarcely possible for a thinking mind to forbear, on seeing a female infant, from anticipating its future miseries, and feeling regret that the Almighty disposer had permitted it to enter the world where its only portion was to be of suffering.

Notwithstanding that they are the mere slaves of men, however, it has generally been found, in tracing the causes of their quarrels, that the women were at the head of them, though in some cases remotely. They mingled in all the contests of the men; and one of these, that was in the beginning attended with some ceremony, was opened by a woman. As they had chosen a clear spot near the town for the scene of action, they were numerously attended from that place. The contending parties consisted mostly of those natives well known at Sydney, and some from the south shore of Botany Bay, among whom was Gome-boak, already mentioned. The visitants repaired to the spot an hour before sunset, and found them seated opposite each other on a level piece of ground between two hills. As a prelude to the business the Sydney natives, after having waited some time, stood up, and each man stooping down took water in the hollow of his hand, (the place just before them being wet,) which he drank. An elderly woman, with a cloak on her shoulders (made of opossum skins very neatly sewn together), and provided with a club, then advanced from the opposite side, and, uttering much abusive language at the time, ran up to Cole-be, who was on the right, and gave him a severe blow on the head, which with seeming contempt he held out to her for the purpose. She went through the same ceremony with the rest, who made no resistance, until she came up to Ye-ra-ni-be, a very fine boy, who stood on the left. He, not admiring the blows that his companions received, which were followed by blood, struggled with her; and had he not been very active she would have stabbed him with his own spear, which she wrested from him. The men now advanced, and gave the lookers-on many opportunities of witnessing the strength and



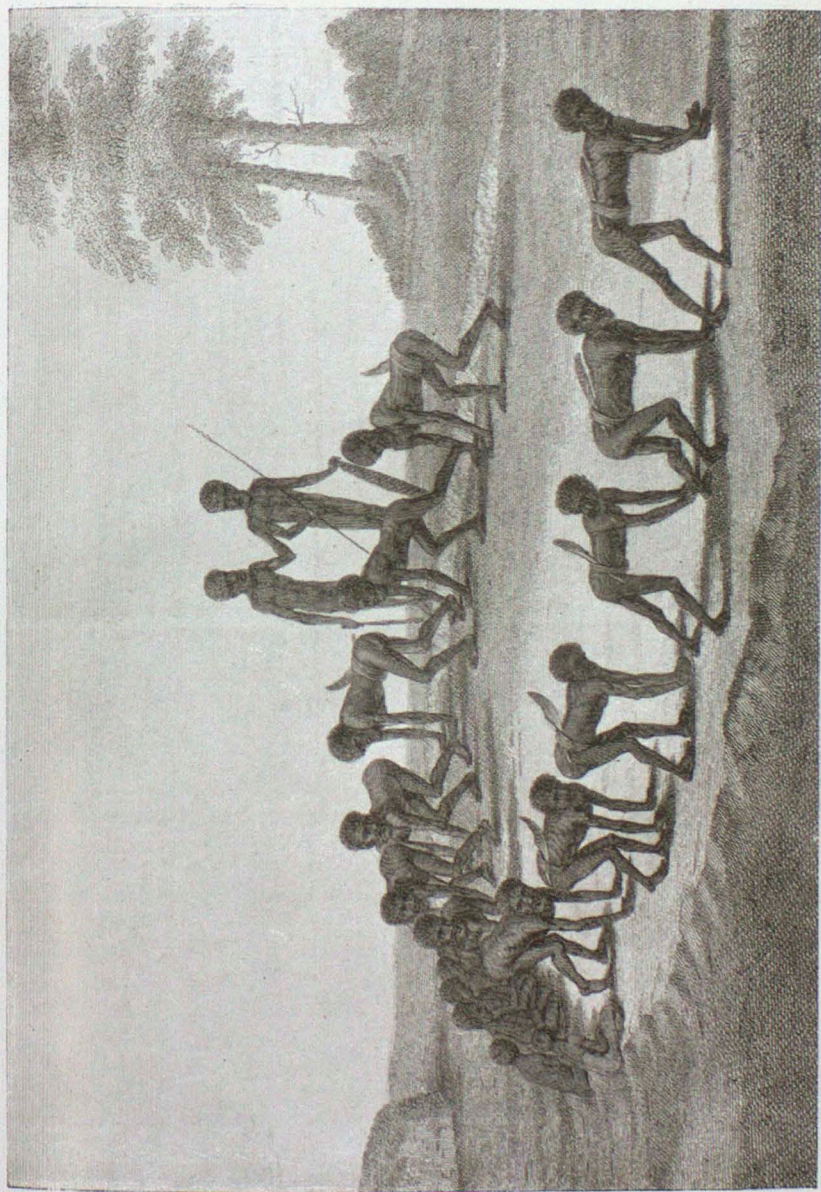
dexterity with which they threw their spears, and the quickness of sight which was requisite to guard against them. The contest lasted until dark, when throwing the spear could no longer be accounted fair, and they beat each other with clubs, until they left off by mutual consent. In this part of the contest many severe wounds were given, and much blood was drawn from the heads of each party; but nothing material happened while they had light enough to guard against the spear.

In the exercise of this weapon they are very expert, and have been seen to strike with certainty at the distance of seventy measured yards. They are thrown with great force, and where they are barbed are very formidable instruments.

The throwing-stick is about three feet long, with a hook at one end, and a shell at the other, secured by gum; and this stick remains in the hand after discharging the spear. There are two kinds of them; one is armed with the shell of a clam, which they use for the same purposes as we do a knife; the other has a hook, but no shell, and is rounded at the end. With this they dig the fern-root and yam out of the earth. They have a variety of spears, some are only pointed, others have one or two barbs, and some are armed with pieces of broken oyster-shell. Of shields they have two sorts; one cut from the bark of the gum-tree, which is not capable of resisting the spear like the other, which is made of solid wood, and hardened by fire; but it is not so much used, on account of its great weight. Of clubs they have several sorts; one of which is of very large dimensions. They have yet another instrument, which they call *Ta-war-rang*. It is about three feet long, is narrow, but has three sides, in one of which is the handle, hollowed by fire. The other sides are rudely carved with curved and waved lines, and it is made use of in dancing, being struck upon for this purpose with a club. These, with a stone hatchet, make the whole of their weapons; in which, it was observed, each of the principal tribes had something peculiar, by which it was known to what part of the country they belonged. The same peculiarity extended to their fishing-lines, nets, and even to their dances, songs, and dialect.

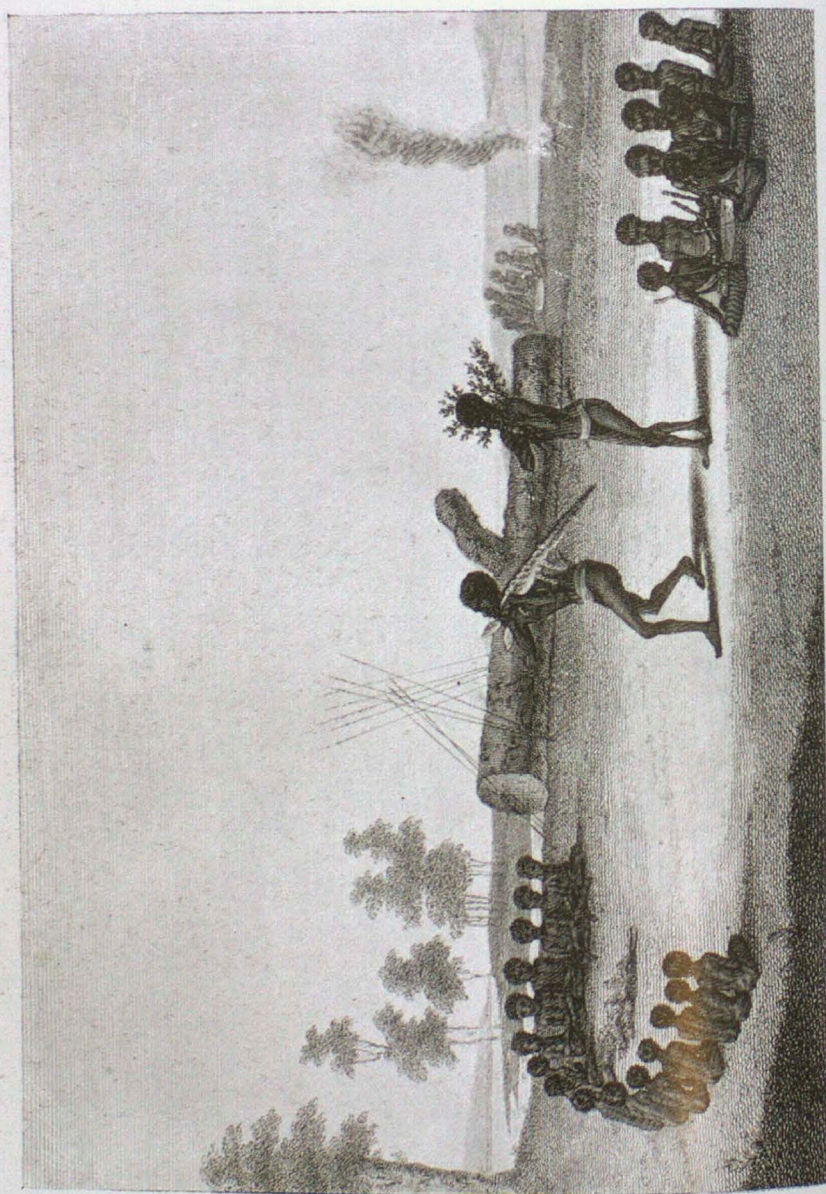
The shedding of blood, among these savages, is always followed by punishment; the party offending being compelled to expose his person to the spears of all who choose to throw at him; for in such punishment the ties of consanguinity or friendship are of no avail. On the death of a person, whether





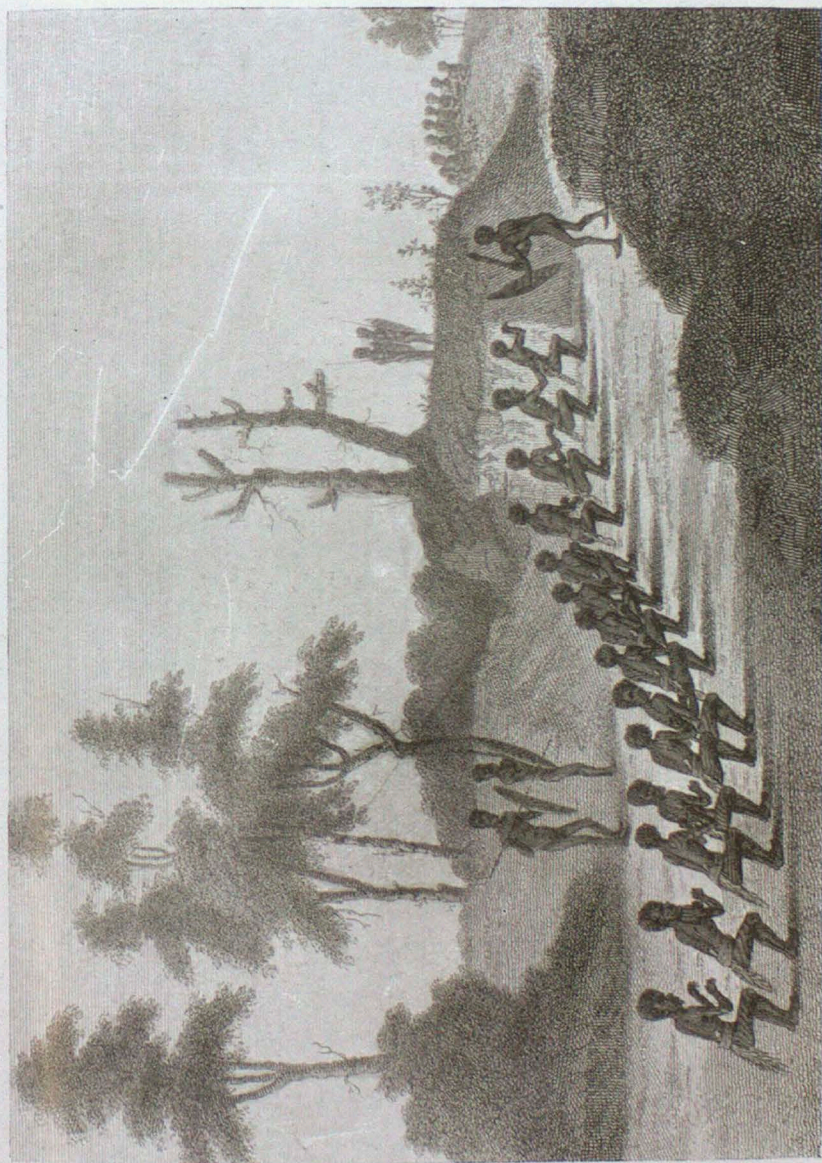
Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang. 1





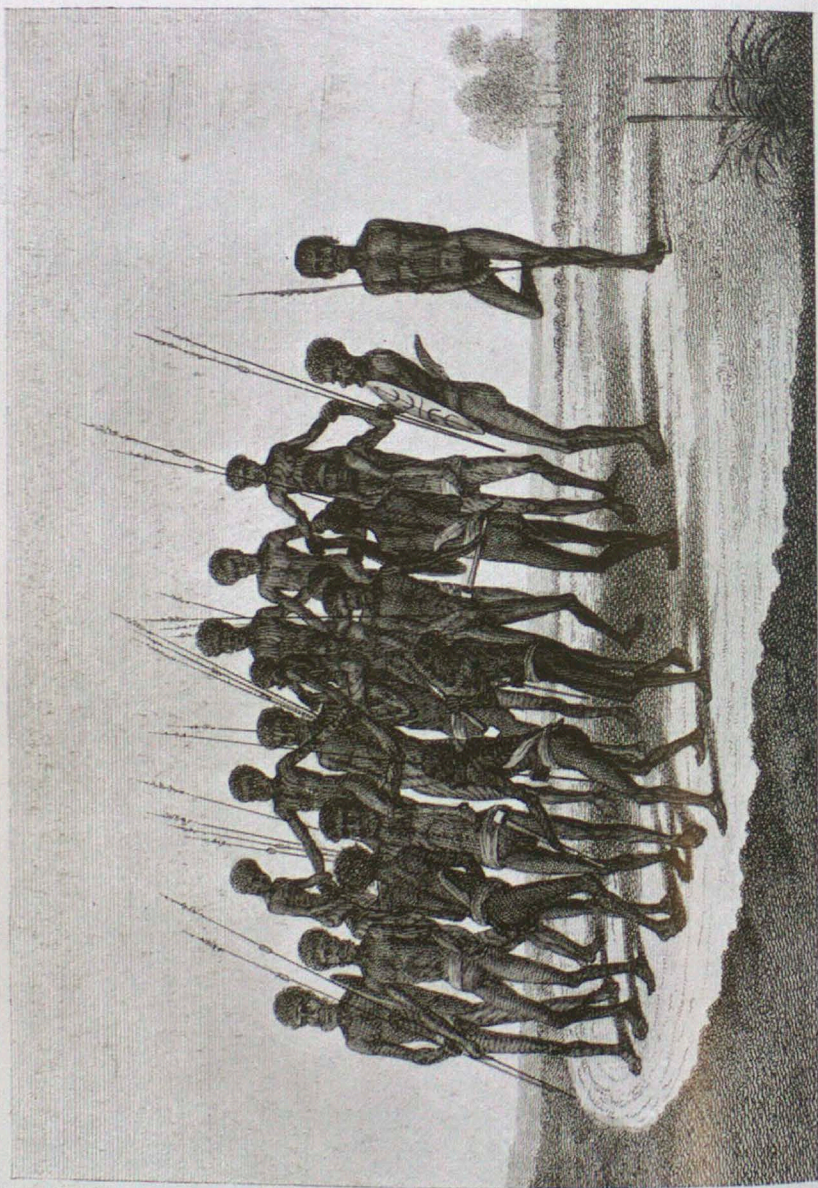
Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang. 2



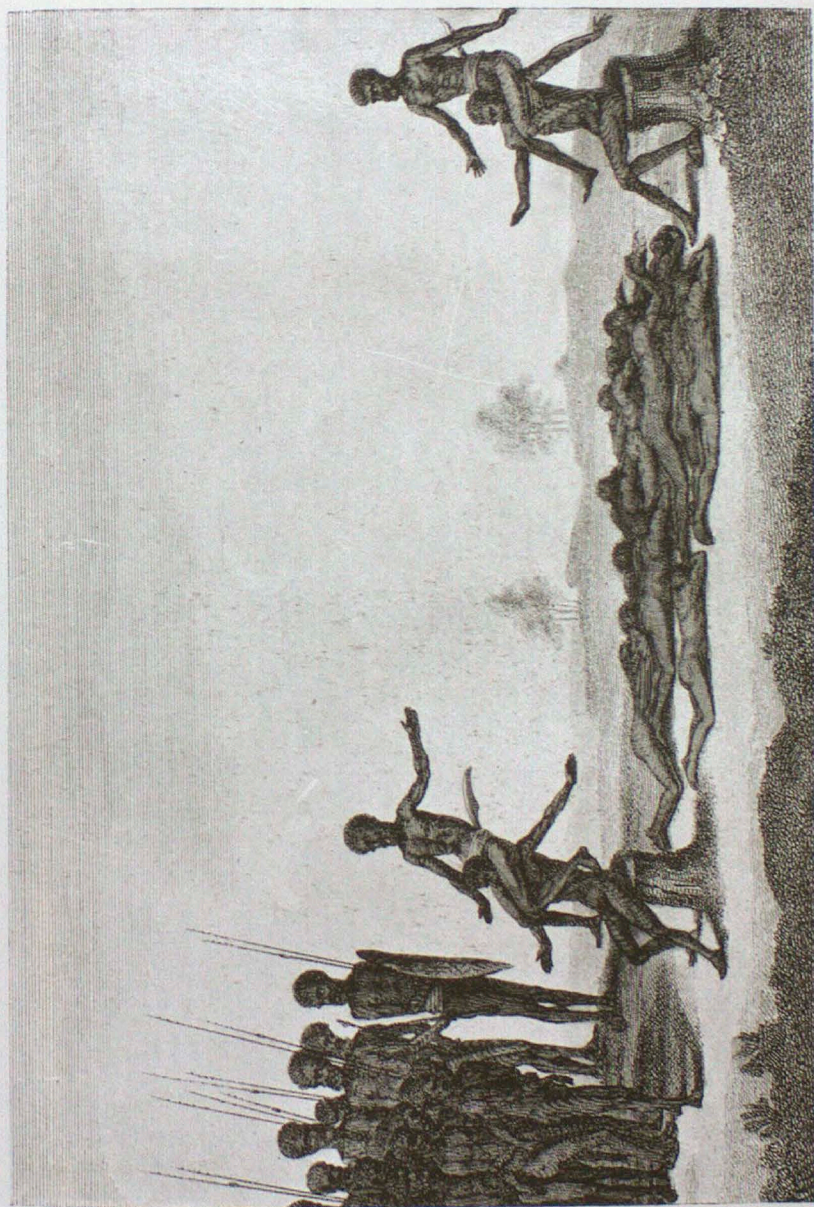


Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang. 3



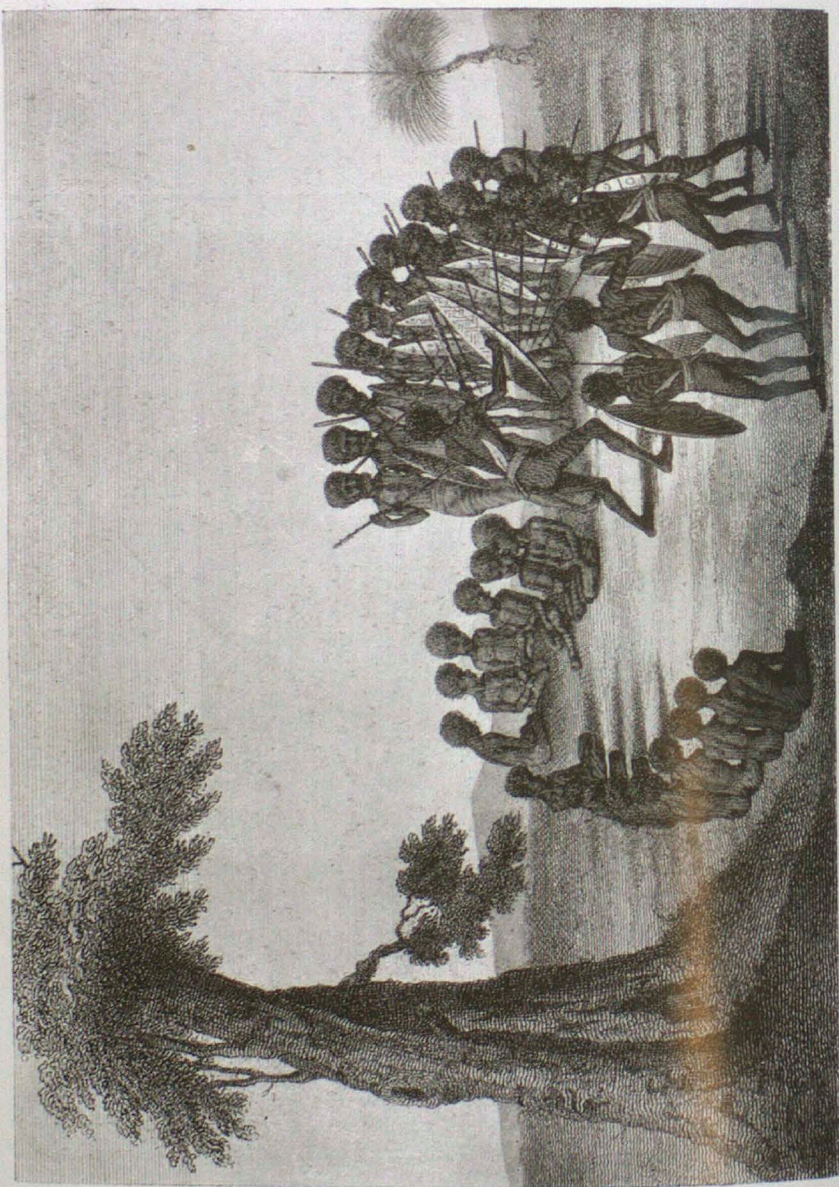




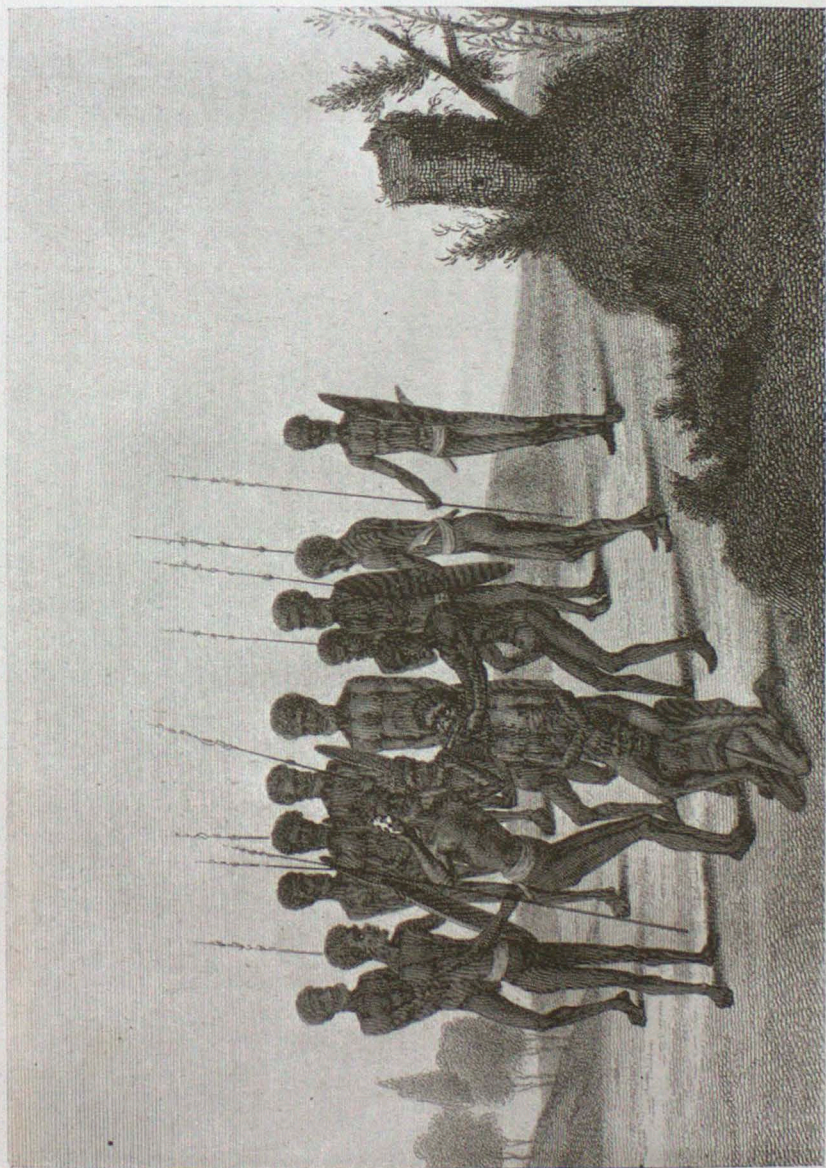


Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang. 5









Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang. 7





Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang. 8



male or female, old or young, the friends of the deceased must be punished, as if the death were occasioned by their neglect. This is sometimes carried farther than can be reconcilable with humanity, as the following instance will confirm:

A native had been murdered. His widow, being obliged to avenge his death on some of the relations of the murderer, and meeting with a little girl, who was some way related to him, took her to a retired place, where, with a club and a pointed stone, she beat her so cruelly that she was taken to the town almost dead. In the head were six or seven deep incisions, and one ear was divided to the bone, which, from the nature of the instrument with which she was beaten, had been greatly injured. The poor child died in a few days. The natives to whom this circumstance was mentioned expressed no concern at it, but seemed to think it quite right, necessary, and inevitable. It was understood that whenever women have occasion for this sanguinary revenge, they never exercise it but on their own sex, not daring to strike a male. The little victim of this revenge had, from her quiet tractable manners, been much beloved in the town; and, which is a singular trait in the inhumanity of this proceeding, had, from the death of the man, requested that his widow might be fed at the officer's hut, where she herself resided. Savage indeed must be the custom and the feelings which could arm the hand against this unoffending child's life. Her death was not avenged, perhaps because they considered it as an expiatory sacrifice.

Wat-te-wal, the man who committed the crime for which this little girl suffered so cruelly, escaped unhurt from the spears of Ben-nil-long, Cole-be, and several other natives; and was afterwards received by them as usual, and actually lived with the murdered man's widow till he was killed in the night by Cole-be, as has been before related.

It now remains to show, what followed where the person died a natural death.

Bone-da, a very fine youth, died of a cold, which settling in his face, terminated in a mortification. It was understood that some blood must be shed on the occasion; and some weeks after a large party of natives belonging to different tribes, being assembled at Pan-ner-rong (which in the language of the country signifies blood), the spot which they had often chosen for their battles, after dancing and feasting over night, early in the morning, Mo-roo-ber-ra the brother, and Cole-be, another



relation of the dead youth, seized upon a lad named Tar-rabil-long, and with a club each gave him a wound in his head which laid his skull bare. The sister of Bone-da had her share in the bloody rite, pushing at the guiltless boy with a short spear, and leaving him in such a state, that the surgeons of the settlement pronounced, from the nature of his wounds, that his recovery was rather doubtful. On being spoke to about the business, he said he did not weep or cry out like a boy, but, like a man, cried Ki-yah when they struck him; that the persons who treated him in this unfriendly manner were no longer his enemies, but would eat or drink or sit with him as friends. A few days after a relation of Bone-da (an old man) received a severe wound on the back of the head, given him on account of the boy's decease; neither youth nor age, kindred nor friendship, appearing to afford any exemption from those sanguinary customs.

When Ben-nil-long's wife died, many spears were thrown and several men wounded. Ben-nil-long himself had a severe contest with Wil-le-mer-ring, whom he wounded in the thigh. He had sent for him as a car-rah-dy to attend her when she was ill; but he either could not or would not obey the summons. Ben-nil-long had chosen the time for celebrating these funeral games in honour of his deceased wife, when a whale-feast had assembled a large number of natives together, among whom were several people from the northward, who spoke a dialect very different from that with which they were acquainted at Port Jackson.

Some officers, happening once to be present in the lower part of the harbour when a child died, perceived the men immediately retire, and throw their spears at one another with much apparent anger, while the females began their usual lamentations.

When Ben-nil-long's infant child died, several spears were thrown, and Ben-nil-long, at the decease of her mother, said repeatedly that he should not be satisfied until he had sacrificed some one to her manes.

A native having wounded a young woman, the wife of another man, and she having some time after exchanged a perilous and troublesome life for the repose and quiet of the grave, a contest ensued on account of her decease; when the offender was severely wounded, and afterwards led to the hospital by the very man from whom he received his wound.



A combat occasioned by a Botany Bay native possessing himself of the wife of a Port Jackson savage, took place, which was attended with more ceremony than usual. The delinquent arrived, accompanied by a large party of his own friends, from the south shore of Botany Bay. Many of his associates in arms were entire strangers at Sydney; but the Yoo-lahng was the place of rendezvous.

At night they all danced, that is to say, both parties; but not mixed together: one side waiting until the other had concluded. In the manner of dancing, of announcing themselves as ready to begin, and also in their song, there was an evident difference.

The Sydney natives appeared to have some apprehension of the event not proving favourable to them; for, perceiving an officer present with a gun, one of them strenuously urged him, if anything should happen to him, to shoot the Botany Bay black fellows. Some other guns making their appearance, the strangers were alarmed and uneasy, until assured that they were intended merely for the security of those who carried them.

The time for this business was just after ten in the forenoon: Car-ru-ey and Cole-be were seated at one end of the Yoo-lahng, each armed with a spear and throwing-stick, and provided with a shield. Here they sat until one of their opponents got up; they then also rose, and put themselves *en garde*. Some of the spears which were thrown at them they picked up and threw back; and others they returned with extraordinary violence. The affair was over before two o'clock, and less mischief than usual had been done. It was understood, however, that another meeting would take place on the same occasion.

In this, as in all contests among them, the point of honour was rigidly observed. But spears were not the only instruments of warfare on these occasions. They had also to combat with words, in which the women sometimes bore a part. During this latter engagement, when any very offensive word met their ears they would suddenly place themselves in the attitude of throwing the spear, and at times let it drop on the ground without discharging: at others, they threw it with all their strength; but always scrupulously observing the situation of the person opposed, and never throwing at him until he covered himself with his shield. The most unaccountable trait in this business was, the party thrown at providing his enemy with weapons; for they repeatedly, when a spear flew



harmless beyond them, picked it up and flung it carelessly back to their adversary. Whether this was done in contempt, or from a scarcity of spears, is uncertain.

This rigid attention to the point of honour, when fairly opposed to each other is difficult to reconcile with their treacherous and midnight murders.

• They have great difficulty in procuring fire, and are therefore seldom without it. The process of procuring it is attended with infinite labour, and is performed by fixing the pointed end of a cylindrical piece of wood into a hollow made in a plane; the operator twirling the round piece swiftly between both his hands, sliding them up and down until fatigued, at which time he is relieved by another of his companions, who are all seated for this purpose in a circle, and each one takes his turn until fire is procured.

Most of their instruments are ornamented with rude carved-work, effected with a piece of broken shell; and on the rocks are frequently to be seen various figures of fish, clubs, swords, animals, and branches of trees, not contemptibly represented.

### Superstition.

Like all other children of ignorance, these people are the slaves of superstition.

The car-rah-dys may be termed the high-priests of superstition. The share which they had in the tooth-drawing scene was not the only instance that induced this belief. After Cole-be was wounded, he accompanied Governor Phillip to the banks of the Hawkesbury, and met with a car-rah-dy, who, with much gesticulation and mummerly, pretended to extract the barbs of two spears from his side, which never had been left there, or, if they had, required rather the aid of a knife than his incantations to extract them; but his patient was satisfied and thought himself perfectly cured.

During the time that Boo-roong, a native girl, lived at Sydney, she paid occasional visits to the lower part of the harbour. From one of these she returned extremely ill. On being questioned as to the cause, for none was apparent, she said that the women of Cam-mer-ray had made water in a path which they knew she was to pass, and it had made her ill. These women were inimical to her, as she belonged to the Botany Bay district. On her intimating to them that she found herself ill, they told her triumphantly what they had done.



Not recovering, though bled by a surgeon, she underwent an extraordinary and superstitious operation, where the operator suffers more than the patient. She was seated on the ground, with one of the lines worn by the men passed round her head once, taking care to fix the knot in the centre of her forehead; the remainder of the line was taken by another girl, who sat at a small distance from her, and with the end of it fretted her lips until they bled very copiously; Boo-roong imagining all the time that the blood came from her head, and passed along the line until it ran into the girl's mouth. This operation they term *be-an-ny*, and it is the peculiar province of the women.

Another curious instance of their superstition occurred among some of our people belonging to a boat that was lying wind-bound in the lower part of the harbour. They had procured some shell-fish, and during the night were preparing to roast them, when they were observed by one of the natives, who shook his head, and exclaimed, that the wind for which they were waiting would not rise if they roasted the fish. His argument not preventing the sailors from enjoying their treat, and the wind actually proving foul, they, in their turn, gave an instance of their superstition by abusing the native, and attributing to him the foul wind which detained them. On questioning the savage respecting this circumstance, it appeared that they never broiled fish by night. These people tell a story of a rock falling on and crushing some natives who were whistling under it; for which reason they make it an invariable rule never to whistle when beneath a rock.

Among their other superstitions was one which might be naturally expected from their ignorance—a belief in spirits.

Of this belief there were several accounts obtained. Ben-nil-long, during his first acquaintance at the settlement, described an apparition as advancing to a person with an uncommon noise, and seizing hold of him by the throat. It came, he said, slowly along with its body bent, and the hands held together in a line with the face, moving on till it seized the party to whom its visit was intended. A general idea prevails among them, that by sleeping at the grave of a deceased person, they would, from what happened to them there, be freed from all future apprehensions respecting apparitions; for during that awful sleep the spirit of the deceased would visit them, seize them by the throat, and, opening them, take out their bowels, which they would replace and close up the wound. They acknowledged that very few chose to encounter the darkness



of the night, the solemnity of the grave, and the visitation of the spirit; but that such as were so hardy became immediately ear-rah-dys, and that all those who exercised that profession had gone through this ceremony.

To the shooting of a star they attached a great degree of importance. Of thunder and lightning they are also much afraid; but believe that by chanting some particular words, and breathing hard, they can dispel it.

### Diseases.

Those natives who live on the sea-coast, from chiefly feeding on fish, are subject to a disorder greatly resembling the itch; they term it Djee-ball djee-ball. It is sometimes very virulent, and renders those afflicted with it extremely loathsome.

In the year 1789 they were visited by a disorder which raged among them with all the appearance of the small-pox. The number that it swept off, by their own accounts, was incredible. A native who at that time resided at Sydney, on going down to the harbour to look for his former companions, was described by those who witnessed his emotions as suffering the extreme of agony. He looked anxiously into the different coves that they visited; not a vestige on the sand was to be found of human foot; the excavations in the rocks were filled with putrid bodies of those who had fallen victims to the disorder: not a living person was anywhere to be met with. It seemed as if, flying from the contagion, they had left the dead to bury the dead. He lifted up his hands and eyes in silent agony for some time; at length he exclaimed, "All dead! all dead!" and then hung his head in mournful silence, which he preserved during the remainder of their excursion. Some days after, he learned that the few of his companions who survived had fled up the harbour to avoid the pestilence that so dreadfully raged. This poor fellow's fate has been already mentioned. He fell a victim to his own humanity, when several of his countrymen were taken to the town covered with eruptions of the disorder, which had not confined its effects to Port Jackson; for on visiting Broken Bay the path was in many places covered with skeletons, and the same spectacles were to be met with in the hollows of most of the rocks of that harbour.

Notwithstanding the town of Sydney was at this time filled with children, many of whom visited the natives that were ill



of the disorder, not one of them caught it, though a North American Indian belonging to Captain Ball's vessel died of it.

To this disorder they gave the name of Gal-gal-la: and that it was the small-pox there was scarcely a doubt; for the person seized with it was affected exactly as Europeans are who have that disorder; and on many that had recovered from it were seen the traces, in some the ravages on the face.

Whenever they feel a pain, they fasten a tight ligature round the part, thereby stopping the circulation, and easing the part immediately affected. It has before been mentioned, that they rapidly recover from their wounds: even a fractured skull confines them but a short time. That their skulls should be frequently fractured can be no matter of wonder, when it is recollected that the club seems to be applied alone to the head. The women who are struck with this weapon always fall to the ground; but this seldom happens to the men.

### **Property.**

Their spears and shields, their clubs and lines, etc., are their own property; they are manufactured by themselves, and are the whole of their personal estate. But, strange as it may appear, they have also their real estates. Ben-nil-long gave repeated assurances, that the island Me-mel (known at the settlement by the name of Goat Island), close by Sydney Cove, was his own property; that it had been his father's, and that he should give it to By-gone, his particular friend and companion. To this little spot he appeared much attached. He likewise spoke of other persons who possessed this kind of hereditary property, which they retained undisturbed.

### **Dispositions.**

They are revengeful, jealous, courageous, and cunning. Their stealing on each other in the night for the purpose of murder must not be imputed to them as a want of bravery; but as the effect of the diabolical spirit of revenge which is thus sought, to make surer of its object than it could have done if only opposed man to man in the field. Their conduct when thus opposed, the constancy with which they endured pain, and the alacrity with which they accepted a summons to the fight, are surely proofs of their not wanting courage. They disclaim all idea of any superiority that is not personal; for when Ben-nil-long had a shield, made of tin and covered



with leather, presented to him by Governor Phillip, he took it down with him to the harbour, whence he returned without it, saying that he had lost it; but, in fact, it had been taken from him and destroyed by his countrymen, it being deemed unfair to cover himself with such a guard.

They might have been honest before the white people came among them, not having much to covet from one another; but from their new friends they stole everything that they could. While they only pilfered what could gratify their appetites, it was not to be wondered at; but they would take articles of which they could not possibly know the use. Early in the settlement one of them stole a case of instruments from the pocket of one of the medical gentlemen; and could he have been watched to his retreat, there is not a doubt but he would have been seen to lay his booty upon his head, as an ornament, the place to which at first everything given to them was usually consigned.

That they are not strangers to the occasional practice of falsehood, is apparent from the words truth and falsehood being found in their language; but, independent of this, proofs are not wanting of their being adepts in the arts of evasion and lying; and when doubts have been entertained of some of their tales, they would with much earnestness assert the truth of them; and when speaking of other natives they have as anxiously wished to prove that they had told nothing but lies.

Their talent for mimicry is very great. Even the children made it a favourite diversion to mimic the peculiarities of those whom they saw, which they did with the happiest success.

They are susceptible of friendship, and capable of feeling sorrow; but this latter sensation they are not in the habit of encouraging long. At the funeral of a native boy, the father's tears were seen to fall plentifully, though silently, down his sable cheek; but in a little time they were dried, and the old man's face indicated nothing but the lapse of many years which had passed over his head.

With attention and kind treatment, they certainly might be made a very serviceable people; they were frequently employed in the boats belonging to the settlement, and were as handy and as useful as any other persons could have been; some of them were likewise engaged in taking the farmer's stock into the woods, and never failed to bring home the right



numbers, though they have not any knowledge of numeration beyond three or four.

Their acquaintance with astronomy is limited to the names of the sun and moon, some few stars, the Magellanic clouds, and the milky way. Of the circular form of the earth they have not the smallest idea; but imagine that the sun returns over their heads during the night to the quarter whence he begins his course in the morning.

As they never make provision for the morrow, except at a whale-feast, they always eat as long as they have anything left, and when satisfied, stretch themselves out in the sun to sleep, where they remain until hunger or some other cause calls them again into action. The men frequently indulge a great degree of indolence at the expense of the women, who are compelled to sit in their canoe, exposed to the fervour of the mid-day sun, hour after hour, chaunting their little song, and inviting the fish beneath them to take their bait; for without a sufficient quantity to make a meal for their tyrants who are lying asleep at their ease, they would meet but a rude reception on their landing.

### **Funeral Ceremonies.**

The first peculiarity noticeable in their funeral ceremonies is, the disposal of their dead: their young people they consign to the grave; those who have passed the middle age are burnt. Ben-nil-long burnt the body of his first wife Ba-rang-a-roo, who was, at the time of her decease, turned of fifty. The interment of Ba-loo-der-ry, the boy before mentioned, was accompanied with many ceremonies. From being one day in perfect health, he was the next taken to the hospital extremely ill, and attended by Ben-nil-long, who was found singing over him, and making use of those means which ignorance and superstition pointed out to him to recover his health. The patient lay extended on the ground, appearing to be in much pain. Ben-nil-long applied his mouth to those parts of the boy's body which he thought were affected, breathing strongly on them, and singing: at times he waved over him some boughs dipped in water, holding one in each hand, and appearing much interested for him. On the following morning he was visited by a car-rah-dy, who had come express from the North Shore. This man threw himself into various distortions, applied his mouth to different parts of his patient's body, and at length, after appearing to labour much, and to be in great



pain, spit out a piece of bone (which he had previously procured). Here the farce ended, and the car-rah-dy withdrew to partake of such fare as the friends of the sick lad had to give him. During the night Bal-loo-der-ry's fever increased, and he died early in the following morning. This was immediately notified by a violent clamour among the women and children; and, Ben-nil-long soon after going to Government-house, it was agreed between him and His Excellency that the body should be buried in his garden.

In the afternoon it was deposited in a hut near the spot, set apart for its reception; several natives attending, and the women and children lamenting and howling most inharmoniously; when, without any provocation, two of the men had a contest with clubs; at the same time a few blows passed between some of the women, spears were also thrown, but evidently as a part of the ceremony, and not with intention of doing injury to anyone. At the request of Ben-nil-long, a blanket was laid over the corpse, and Cole-be, his friend, sat by the body all night, nor could be prevailed on to quit it.

They remained silent till one in the morning, when the women began to cry, and continued for some time. At daylight Ben-nil-long brought his canoe to the place, and, cutting it to a proper length, the body was placed in it, with a spear, a fíz-gig, a throwing-stick, and a line which Bal-loo-der-ry had worn round his waist. Some time was occupied in adjusting this business, during which the men were silent; but the women, boys, and children, uttered the most dismal lamentations. The father stood alone, and unemployed, a silent observer of all that was doing about his deceased son, and a perfect picture of deep and unaffected sorrow. Everything being ready, the men and boys all assisted in lifting the canoe with the body from the ground, and placing it on the heads of two natives; some of the assistants had tufts of grass in their hands, which they waved backwards and forwards under the canoe, while it was lifting from the ground, as if they were exorcising some evil spirit. As soon as it was fixed on the heads of the bearers, they set off, preceded by Ben-nil-long and another man, both walking with a quick step. Mau-go-ran, the father, attended them, armed with his spear and throwing-stick, while Ben-nil-long or his companion had only tufts of grass, which, as they went, they waved about, sometimes turning and facing the corpse, at others waving the tufts of grass among the bushes. When they fronted the corpse, the



head of which was carried foremost, the bearers made a motion with their heads from side to side, as if endeavouring to avoid the people who fronted them. After proceeding thus to some little distance, Ben-nil-long's companion turned aside from the path, and went up to a bush, into which he seemed to look very narrowly, as if searching for something that he could not find, and waving about the tufts of grass which he had in either hand. After this fruitless search, they all turned back, and went on in a somewhat quicker pace than before. On their drawing near the spot where the women and children were sitting with the other men, the father threw two spears towards, but (evidently intentionally) short of them. Here Ben-nil-long took his infant child in his arms and held it up to the corpse, the bearers endeavouring to avoid it, as before described. Bè-dia Bè-dia, the brother of the deceased, a boy of five years of age, was then called for, but came forward very reluctantly, and was presented in the same manner as the other child. After this they proceeded to the grave, which had been prepared in the Governor's garden. Twice they changed the bearer who walked the foremost; but his friend Collins carried him the whole of the way. Yel-lo-way levelled the earth, and then strewed some grass in it; after which he stretched himself at his length in the grave, first on his back and then on his right side. Some drums had attended at the request of Ben-nil-long, and two or three marches were beat while the grave was preparing; he highly approving, and pointing at the time, first to the deceased, and then to the skies, as if there was some connection between them at that moment. On laying the body in the grave, great care was taken so to place it, that the sun might look at it as it passed, the natives cutting down for that purpose every shrub that could at all obstruct the view. He was placed on his right side, with his head to the N.W. When the grave was covered in, several branches of shrubs were placed in a half circle on the south side of the grave, extending them from the foot to the head of it. Grass and boughs were likewise laid on the top of it, and crowned with a large log of wood. This log appeared to be placed there for some particular purpose; for, after strewing it with grass, the placer laid himself on it at his length for some minutes, with his face towards the sky. Every rite having been performed, the party retired, some of the men first speaking in a menacing tone to the women. Cole-be and Wat-te-wal, who seemed the most particular persons at this



ceremony, were painted red and white over the breast and shoulders, and distinguished by the title of Moo-by; and it was understood, that while they were so distinguished they were to be very sparing in their meals.

The spectators were enjoined on no account to mention the name of the deceased; a custom which they rigidly attended to themselves whenever anyone died.

Such were the ceremonies attendant on the interment of Ba-loo-der-ry. When Ba-rang-a-roo Da-ring-ha, Ben-nil-long's wife, died, he determined at once to burn her, and requested the Governor, the Judge-Advocate, and the surgeon, to attend him. He was accompanied by his relations and a few others, mostly females.

Collins, the native, prepared the spot whereon the pile was to be constructed, by excavating the ground with a stick, to the depth of three or four inches; and on the part so turned up were first placed small sticks and light brushwood; larger pieces were then laid on each side of these; and so on till the pile might be about three feet in height, the ends and sides of which were thus formed of dry wood, while the middle of it consisted of small twigs and branches, broken for the purpose and thrown together. When wood enough had been procured, some grass was spread over the pile, and the corpse, covered with an old blanket, was borne to it, and placed with the head towards the north. A basket, with the fishing apparatus and other small furniture of the deceased, was placed by her side; and Ben-nil-long having laid some large logs of wood over the body, the pile was lighted by one of the party. Being constructed of dry wood, it was quickly all in a flame, and Ben-nil-long himself pointed out to his Sydney friends a black smoke which proceeded from the centre of the pile where the body lay, and signified that the fire had reached it. The spot was abandoned long before the last billet was consumed, and Ben-nil-long appeared during the day more cheerful than had been expected, and spoke about finding a nurse from among the white women to suckle his child.

The following day he invited the same party to see him rake the ashes of his wife together, and they attended him to the spot unaccompanied by any of his own people. He preceded his companions in a sort of solemn silence, speaking to no one until he had paid Ba-rang-a-roo the last duties of a husband. In his hand he had the spear with which he meant to punish the car-rah-dy for non-attendance on his wife when she was



ill, with the end of which he raked the calcined bones and ashes together in a heap. Then, laying the spear upon the ground, he formed with a piece of bark a tumulus that would have done credit to a well practiced grave-digger, carefully laying the earth round, smoothing every little unevenness, and paying a scrupulous attention to the exact proportion of its form. On each side the tumulus he placed a log of wood, and on the top of it deposited the piece of bark with which he had so carefully effected the construction. When all was done, he asked his friends "if it was good," and appeared pleased when assured that it was so.

His deportment on the occasion was solemn and manly, and expressive silence marked his conduct throughout the scene. The gentlemen attended him as silently, and with close observation. He did not suffer anything to divert him from the business that he had in hand, nor did he seem to be in the least desirous to have it quickly dispatched; but paid his last rite with an attention that did honour to his feelings as a man, as it seemed the result of a heart-felt affection for the object of it, of whose person nothing now remained but a piece or two of calcined bone. When his melancholy work was ended, he stood for a few moments with his hands folded over his bosom, and his eyes fixed upon his labours in the attitude of a man in profound thought. Perhaps in that short interval of time many ideas presented themselves to his imagination. His hands had just completed the last service that he could render to a woman, who, no doubt, had been useful to him; one to whom he was certainly attached, and one who had left him a living pledge of some moments at least of endearment. Perhaps under the heap which his hands had raised, and on which his eyes were fixed, his imagination traced the form of her whom he might have fought for, and whom he was now never to behold again. Perhaps, when turning from the grave of his deceased companion, he directed all his thoughts to the preservation of the little one that she had left him; and when he quitted the spot, his anxiety might be directed to the child, with the idea that he might one day see his Ba-rang-a-roo revive in his little motherless Dil-boong.

In conformity to their custom of not pronouncing the name of the deceased, two females called Ba-rang-a-roo lost that, and took other names. One of these (Cole-be's wife) survived her but a short time, dying of a consumption brought on by suckling a little girl who was at her breast when she died.



This circumstance led to the knowledge of a curious but horrid custom which obtains among these people. The mother died in the town; and when she was taken to the grave, her corpse was carried to the door of every hut and house that she had been accustomed to enter during the latter days of her illness, the bearers presenting her with the same ceremonies as were used at the funeral of Bal-loo-der-ry, when the little girl Dil-boong and the boy Bè-dia Bè-dia were placed before his corpse.

When the body was laid in the grave, the bystanders were amazed to see the father himself place the living child in it with the mother. Having placed the child down, he threw upon it a large stone, and the grave was instantly filled up by the other natives. The whole business was so momentary, that the visitors had not time or presence of mind to prevent it; and on speaking of it to Cole-be, he, so far from thinking it inhuman, justified the extraordinary act, by saying, that as no woman could be found to nurse the child, it must have died a worse death than that to which he had put it. From similar circumstances afterwards occurring, there is every reason to suppose that the custom always prevails among them; and this may in some degree account for the thinness of population which has been observed among the natives of the country.

The annexed plate represents the burning of a native who was killed by a tree falling on him; the same ceremonies were performed on this occasion as have been before related.

### Language.

In giving an account of an unwritten language many difficulties occur. For things cognizable by the external senses, names may be easily procured; but not so for those which depend on action, or address themselves only to the mind; for instance, a spear was an object both visible and tangible, and a name for it was easily obtained; but the use of it went through a number of variations and inflexions, which it was extremely difficult to ascertain; indeed the infinitive mood of any of their verbs could not be fixed with any degree of certainty.

Their language is extremely grateful to the ear, being in many instances expressive and sonorous. It certainly has no analogy with any other known language, one or two instances excepted. The dialect spoken by the natives at Sydney not only differs entirely from that left by Captain Cook of the people with whom he had intercourse to the northward (about



Endeavour river), but also from that spoken by those natives who lived at Port Stephens, and to the southward of Botany Bay (about Adventure Bay), as well as on the banks of the Hawkesbury. People from the northward had been met with, who could not be exactly understood by the Sydney natives; but this is not so wonderful, as that people living at the distance of only fifty or sixty miles should call the sun and moon by different names: such however, was the fact.

A sensible difference was often remarked on hearing the same word sounded by two people; and, in fact, they have been observed sometimes to differ from themselves, substituting the letter *b* for *p*, and *g* for *c*, and *vice versa*. In their alphabet they have neither *s* nor *v*; and some of their letters would require a new character to ascertain them precisely. The following are "The Words of a Song":—

Māng-en-ny-wau-yen-go-nah, bar-ri-boo-lah, bar-re-mah.

This they begin at the top of their voices, and continue as long as they can in one breath, sinking to the lowest note, and then rising again to the highest. The words are the names of deceased persons.

*E-i-ab wan-ge-wah, chian-go, wan-de-go*: the words of another song, sung in the same manner as the preceding, and of the same meaning.

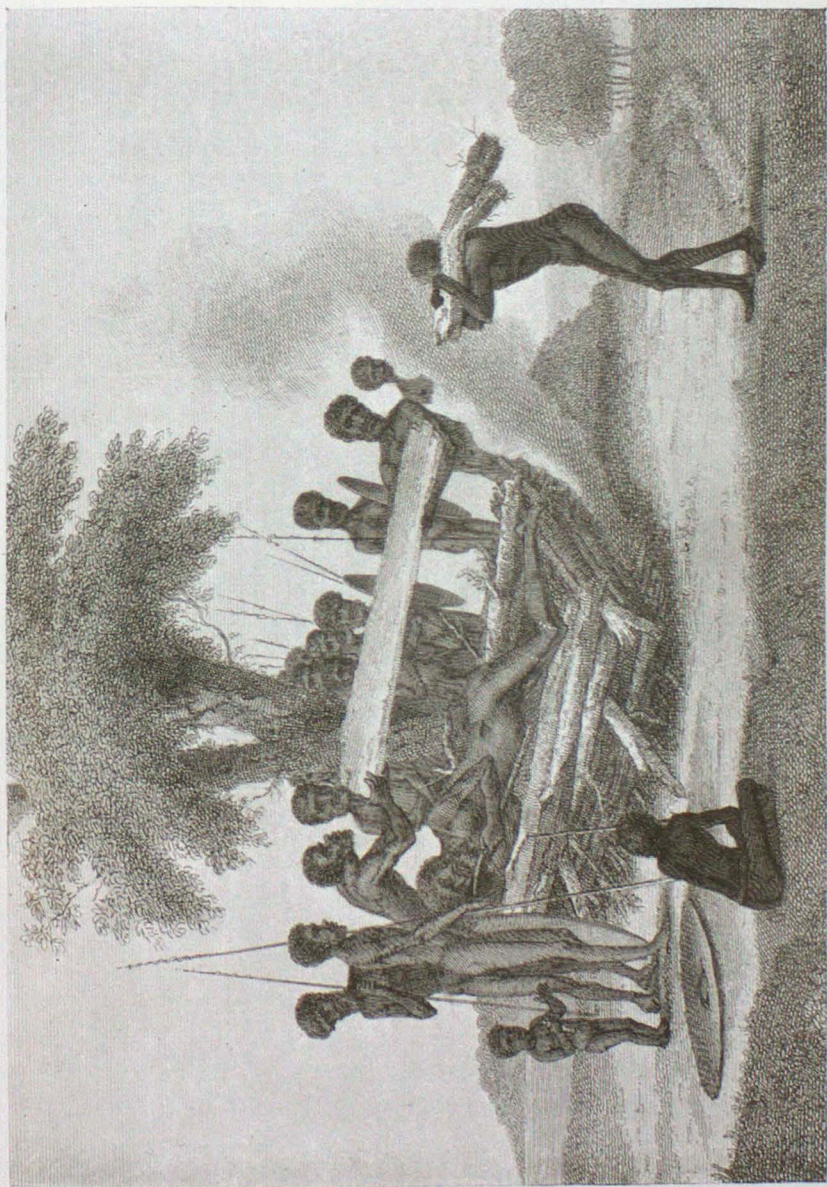
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The foregoing account of the natives of New South Wales, with their customs and language, might have been much enlarged, had not the author chosen to mention only such facts respecting which, after much attention and inquiry, he could satisfy his mind. That they are ignorant savages cannot be disputed; but it is hoped that they do not, in the foregoing pages, appear to be wholly incapable of becoming one day civilized and useful members of society.









Burning a Corpse.







ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
ENGLISH COLONY IN NEW SOUTH WALES  
*CONTINUED*  
TO THE YEAR 1801 ;

INCLUDING

An Account of a Voyage performed by CAPTAIN FLINDERS and W. BASS ;  
by which the Existence of a Strait separating Van Diemen's Land from the  
Continent of New Holland was ascertained : Abstracted from the Journal of  
Mr. BASS.

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[BY THE AUTHOR OF THE FOREGOING NARRATIVE.]

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## CHAPTER XVII.

The very flattering reception which the preceding account of the "English Colony in New South Wales" had experienced from a candid and liberal public, induced the author to continue his labours in the character of its historian; having been favoured with materials for the purpose, on the authenticity of which he could safely stake his credit.

In a settlement which was still in a great measure dependent upon the mother country for food, it might have been supposed that the convicts would have endeavoured by their own industry to have increased, rather than by robbery and fraud to have lessened, the means of their support; but far too many of them were most incorrigibly flagitious, which determined the Governor to proceed with activity in rectifying the abuses that had imperceptibly crept into the colony. According to this plan, he began by arranging the muster lists that had lately been taken; in which many impositions were detected, and the delinquents ordered to labour, after having inflicted on them such punishments as their respective offences seemed to demand: by this circumstance he was enabled to recover at least one hundred men for Government work.

Exclusive of the advantage which attended the recruiting of the public gangs in this way, another point was established by this examination, the discovering of several who had been virtualled from the stores beyond the period (eighteen months) which had been fixed, and considered by Government as a sufficient time to enable an industrious man to provide for himself.

Directing his attention also to the morality of the settlement, a point which he could not venture to promise himself he should speedily attain, he issued some necessary orders for enforcing attendance on divine service, and had the satisfaction of seeing the sabbath better observed than it had been for some time past.

On the 16th, some people who went to cut wood at the North Shore found a man's hat, and a large hammer lying by it.



One side of the hat had apparently been beaten in with the hammer, which was bloody; and much blood was also found in the hat, as well as about the spot where it was discovered. It was conjectured, that a man who had been working there with some carpenter's tools had been murdered; and upon its being made known to the Governor, several persons were sent to search for the body, which was found thrown over the cliff, and near the water side. The skull was found beaten in, which had doubtless occasioned death.

This shocking circumstance was followed shortly after by another equally atrocious: a murder which was committed by a man on the person of a woman with whom he cohabited. It appeared, that they had both been intoxicated and had quarrelled on the night preceding the murder. This made the fifth circumstance of the kind which had occurred within the last twelve months; and so excessively abandoned were the people, that it was scarcely possible to obtain sufficient proof to convict the offender.

From the accession of numbers to the public gangs, the different works in hand at Sydney and Parramatta went rapidly on; among these, was the erection of a granary, seventy-two feet in length, and twenty-two in breadth. Boats were likewise sent round to the Hawkesbury for various articles, such as timber, shingles, and grain. It has been shown in the preceding account of this colony, that the farms upon the fertile banks of that river were superior, in point of soil, to any near the principal settlement; and that, had they been in the hands of good and industrious characters, they would have produced abundant crops, and enriched their owners. But every day's experience evinced, that the people thus unfortunately situated were, unluckily, some of the most profligate wretches in the colony; and their distance from the immediate seat of Government added much to the inconvenience. Such of these farms as were situated on the low grounds were often found overflowed after very heavy falls of rain; but this circumstance was no way injurious to the farmer, unless it happened when the grain was ripening.

Among other local arrangements which took place, and were extremely useful, must be reckoned the numbering of the houses of the towns of Sydney and Parramatta, and dividing them into portions; with a principal inhabitant at the head of each division, who was charged with the peace and good order of the district in which he lived.



Ben-nil-long, who had returned to all the habits of savage life, claimed the protection of the Governor from the menaces of several of his countrymen, who, he with much agitation informed him, had assembled in a considerable body near the brickfields, to lie in wait for him; and where, if possible, they meant to kill him, he having, as they suspected, killed a man near Botany Bay. This he positively denied having done, and the Governor dispatched him to the place, guarded by some of the military, where he explained to his countrymen that he had not killed the man in question, or any man; and that the soldiers were sent with him, to convince them that the Governor would not suffer him, his old friend and fellow voyager (it must be remembered that Ben-nil-long returned from England with the Governor), to be illtreated by them, on any false pretence; and that he was determined to drive every native away from Sydney who should attempt it. This threat had its effect. Many of them were much alarmed when they saw in what manner and by whom Ben-nil-long was attended; and to be driven from a place whence they derived so many comforts, and so much shelter in bad weather, would have been severely felt by them.

In the first part of October the weather had been unfavourable; but about the middle some showers fell very seasonably for the harvest.

November opened with the arrival of the "Prince of Wales," victualler, from England. She had sailed in company with the "Sylph," which also had provisions for the settlement on board, but which did not arrive until the 17th.

The useful regulation of numbering the different houses in the town of Sydney, particularly those in the occupation of the convicts, was followed up by another equally serviceable, which directed the inhabitants of each four divisions of the town (for into that number it was portioned off) to meet, and from among themselves elect three of the most decent and respectable characters, who were to be approved by the Governor, and were to serve for the ensuing year as watchmen, for the purpose of enforcing a proper attention to the good order and tranquillity of their respective divisions.

Richard Atkins, Esq., having been directed to officiate as Judge-Advocate of the colony, in the absence of the gentleman who had filled that situation since the first establishment of the settlement, and who had now proceeded to England, a criminal court was held on the 23rd, when sentence of death was passed



upon eight prisoners who were capitally convicted; one, of the murder of the man whose body had been found on the north shore in the last month, and seven of robbing the public storehouse at Sydney and the settlement at the Hawkesbury. Two others were found guilty of manslaughter.

Of these miserable people five were executed, pursuant to the sentence of the court. The public justice of the country being satisfied, the Governor extended the hand of mercy to the remaining three who had been condemned to suffer, by granting them a conditional pardon.

The court having ordered that Francis Morgan should be hung in chains upon the small island which is situated in the middle of the harbour, and named by the natives *Mat-te-wa-ye*, a gibbet was accordingly erected, and he was placed there, exhibiting an object of much greater terror to the natives, than to the white people, many of whom were more inclined to make a jest of it; but to the natives his appearance was so frightful—his clothes shaking in the wind, and the creaking of his irons, added to their superstitious ideas of ghosts (for these children of ignorance imagined that, like a ghost, this man might have the power of taking hold of them by the throat), all rendering him such an alarming object to them, that they never trusted themselves near him, nor near the spot where he hung, which until that time had ever been with them a favourite place of resort.

On the 16th of December, a general muster of all descriptions of people took place over every part of the colony at the same hour; for it had been found, that in mustering one district at a time, a deception had been successfully practised, by some running from one place to another, and answering to their names at each, thereby drawing provisions from both stores, having previously imposed themselves on the respective storekeepers as belonging to their district. This could not, indeed, have long continued, if the storekeepers had been properly attentive to the directions which they received; but it was almost impossible to guard against the artful and well contrived deceptions which these people were constantly playing off, to impose upon propriety, regulation, and good order.

It was observed with regret, that the savage inhabitants of the country, instead of losing any part of their native ferocity of manners by an intercourse with the Europeans among whom they dwelt, seemed rather to delight in exhibiting themselves



as monsters of the greatest cruelty, devoid of reason, and guided solely by the impulse of the worst of passions: a striking proof of this was given by their conduct to a little native girl of seven years old, whom they inhumanly murdered. The father and mother of this poor child belonged to a party of natives who had committed so many depredations upon the settlers at the Hawkesbury, attended with such acts of cruelty, as to render them extremely formidable: insomuch that it became necessary to send an armed party in pursuit of them. They were soon found, and, being fired upon, the parents of this little female were among those who fell. She was with them at the time, and readily accompanied our people to the settlement, where she was received. Being a well-disposed child, she soon became a great favourite at Government-house, where she resided. This, and her being a native of the country of Broken Bay, excited the jealousy of some of the natives who lived at and about Sydney, which manifested itself in their putting her to death in the most cruel manner. The body was found in the woods, speared in several places, and with both the arms cut off; whence it was taken to Sydney and buried. The Governor was much incensed at this inhuman act, and, could he have discovered the offenders, would have severely punished them; but they had withdrawn into the woods.

The weather during the month had been very bad; heavy rains prevailing, with thunder and lightning, and wind strong at east, which greatly retarded the getting-in of the harvest.

The Governor, always anxious to promote the good of the settlement by every means in his power, having determined to visit at that season the part of it which was situated on the banks of the Hawkesbury, set off towards the latter end of December, with a party of officers, by land, to Broken Bay, where they got on board the Colonial schooner, and continued in her two days, sailing up that pleasant river; but finding her progress too slow, they quitted her for some boats which had accompanied them; and by the end of the month had reached as high up as some farms which had lately been evacuated in consequence of the depredations that the owners of them had been exposed to from the numerous parties of natives. The ground hereabout was carefully examined, to see if it would admit such a number of settlers as might be sufficient for the purpose of mutual protection; but it was found inadequate



to that end, the limits of it on the banks of the river, where the soil was good, being much too narrow.

On the first of January, 1797, the Governor had reached the principal settlement, having occasionally landed to examine into the state of the different farms, as well as to settle disputes relative to property, and adjust differences between the settlers and their hired servants.

Having had previous notice, a general muster of these people took place; when many impositions were found to be still practised: after rectifying which, the Governor reminded several of the farmers that they were considerably indebted to the public store for the seed from which their present abundant crops had been produced, and directed that a quantity equal to that which they had borrowed should forthwith be repaid. This it was absolutely necessary to insist upon, as there were but very few among them who would have been found with principle sufficient to have done it of their own accord.

Before the party returned, they ascended Richmond Hill, on the summit of which a large smoke was made at noon; at the same time a similar smoke was made on Prospect Hill, which was very distinctly seen, and its bearings taken, to ascertain the relative situation of the two hills. This bearing, which was S. 35° 00' E. by compass, gave, with the latitude observed on each, the distance between the two hills about eighteen miles in a direct line.

By this bearing, should there be occasion hereafter, a road through the woods, from the head of the Hawkesbury, might be cut in the shortest and most direct way to Parramatta.

At the head of this river, and upon the banks of that named the Nepean, there was known to be a tract of excellent land, as rich as any on the banks of the Hawkesbury, which was then under cultivation, and where, at some future period, a settlement might be advantageously established.

The Governor, on reaching Toongabbe, had the mortification of seeing a stack containing eight hundred bushels of wheat burnt to the ground, and the country round this place everywhere in flames: unfortunately, much wheat belonging to Government was stacked there. The fire had broke out in the evening; the wind was high, the night extremely dark, and the flames had mounted to the very tops of the lofty woods that surrounded a field called the Ninety Acres, in which were several stacks of wheat. The appearance was alarming, and



the noise occasioned by the high wind, and the crackling of the flames among the trees, contributed to render the scene truly awful.

It became necessary to make every effort to save this field and its contents. The jail-gang, who worked in irons, were called out, and told, that if the wheat was saved by their exertions, their chains should be knocked off. By providing every man with a large bush, to beat off the fire as it approached the grain over the stubble, keeping up this attention during the night, and the wind becoming moderate towards morning, the fire was fortunately kept off; and the promise to the jail-gang was not forfeited.

Although at this season of the year there were days when, from the extreme heat of the atmosphere, the leaves of many culinary plants growing in the gardens were reduced to a powder, yet there was some ground for supposing that this accident had not arisen from either the heat of the weather or the fire in the woods. The grain that was burnt was the property of Government, and the destruction made room for as many bushels as should be destroyed, which must be purchased from the settlers who had wheat to sell. If, however, this was the diabolical work of designing selfish villains, they had art enough to baffle the most minute inquiry.

On the 19th of the month the Governor went on an excursion to Botany Bay, in order to explore George's River as far up as was practicable, and to examine the soil upon its banks, which he found to be of good quality, and considerable extent. This river, which was observed to run in a westerly direction about twenty-five miles up from Botany Bay, was, in many parts of its branches, exceedingly picturesque; and navigable for small craft, for at least twenty miles up. Some of its creeks or branches, reached within a small distance of Prospect Hill. Between this river and Parramatta, the Governor, on his return, travelled through a thick bushy wood, covering an excellent soil.

Erecting a granary, completing a wind-mill, and repairing the public roads, formed the principal works during January; in which the weather had been most uncomfortably hot, accompanied with some severe thunder storms, during one of which both the flag-staff at the South Head, and that at the entrance of the Cove, on Point Maskelyne, were shivered to pieces by the lightning. The vast blazes of fire which were seen in every



direction, and which were freshened by every blast of wind, added much to the suffocating heat that prevailed.

The natives excited some little degree of curiosity by assembling in the beginning of February at the lower part of the harbour; whither those belonging to Sydney immediately repaired, for the purpose, as it was reported, of meeting them in fight; but it proved to be nothing more than the usual ceremony which a native of Broken Bay underwent, of having several spears thrown at him, for having, as was said, killed a person belonging to Port Jackson. He went off unhurt, after sustaining the appearance of much rage and violence from the friends of the deceased.

Some heavy rain fell most seasonably during the latter part of the month, as it served to extinguish the still glowing embers of the vast fires which had surrounded the place, and which, being scattered over the country every dry and windy day, occasioned new and dreadful conflagrations.

It appeared by the books in which were entered the certificates granted to the convicts who had again become free people, that there were at this time not less than 600 men off the store; forming a vast deduction of labouring people from the public strength, and adding a great many chances against the safety of public and private property, as well as personal security.

Among other thefts committed during March was part of the sails belonging to the mill. Nothing could have more forcibly marked the inherent depravity of some of these miscreants; for this machine was necessary to the comfort of those very incorrigible vagabonds who had thus for a time prevented its being of use to themselves or others. While the Governor was endeavouring to guard against the injuries that might be done by these depredators, and such as these, the settlers found themselves obliged to assemble for the purpose of repelling the attacks made upon them by the natives. The people at the Northern Farm had been repeatedly plundered of their provisions and clothing by a large body of savages, who had also recently killed a man and a woman. Exasperated at such cruel and wanton conduct, they armed themselves, and, after pursuing them a whole night, came up with a party of more than a hundred, who, on discovering that their pursuers were armed, fled; leaving behind them a quantity of Indian corn, some musket balls, and other things which they had plundered. They continued to follow, and traced them



as far as the outskirts of Parramatta. Being fatigued with their march, they entered the town, and in about an hour after were followed by a large body of natives, headed by Pe-mul-wy, a riotous and troublesome savage. These were known by the settlers to be the same who had so frequently annoyed them; and they intended, if possible, to seize upon Pe-mul-wy; who, in a great rage, threatened to spear the first man that dared to approach him, and actually did throw a spear at one of the soldiers. The conflict was now begun; a musket was levelled at the principal, which severely wounded him. Many spears were then thrown, and one man was struck in the arm; upon which the superior effect of the fire-arms was shown them, and five were instantly killed. Unpleasant as it was to the Governor, that the lives of so many of these people should have been taken, no other course could possibly be pursued; for it was their custom, when they found themselves more numerous and better armed than the white people, to demand with insolence whatever they deemed proper; and, if refused, to have recourse to murder. This check, it was hoped, would have a good effect: and Pe-mul-wy, who had received seven buck-shot in his head and different parts of his body, was taken extremely ill to the hospital. This savage was first known in the settlement by the murder of John M'Intyre in the year 1790; since which he had been a most active enemy to the settlers, plundering them of their property, and endangering their personal safety.

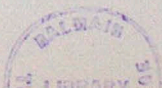
During March, upwards of 100 men had been occupied in agriculture at Toongabbe. A wind-mill was to be erected at Parramatta, where the stonemasons and carpenters were preparing the materials. At Sydney, a gang was employed in making bricks, where were also completing a large granary and a strong log-prison. All the public brick buildings were likewise undergoing a repair, being crumbling into ruins, as were all the boats belonging to Government: a new flag-staff had likewise been erected at South Head. The weather had for the greater part of the month been very wet.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

Some reports having again been circulated, respecting the situation of Mary Morgan, the woman said to be detained among the natives to the southward of Broken Bay, a boat, with some people who had volunteered the service, was sent to the north part of that harbour, where it was said she had been lately seen with some of her black friends. The people were directed, if possible, to bring her away, unless she preferred the life that she then led; upon which more than three years' experience would certainly enable her to decide. They were absent about ten days, and returned without success, not even having heard anything of her. Though it would be difficult to imagine to what purpose the story of this woman's existence among the natives had been twice fabricated, yet that it had been a mere fabrication from the first was evident.

In consequence of some complaints which were laid before the Governor, relative to exorbitant demands made by the public bakers upon those who had occasion to employ them, and of the impositions practised as well in the quality as in the quantity of the bread returned in lieu of the flour or grain delivered to them; the Judge-Advocate and two other magistrates were directed to hold a meeting for the purpose of inquiring into the business, as well as for examining and regulating the weights and measures which were at that time in use in the colony. An order was at the same time issued, recommending to the settlers of every district, that, as much pains had been taken to establish, agreeably to their wishes, the rate of wages paid for all kinds of labour, they should now attend strictly to this regulation. There were reasons for suspecting that, notwithstanding the bond which they had entered into, rigidly to adhere to the regulations which had been established for their benefit, some among them were so very deficient in honest principles as to attempt by various means to evade the regulation, to the great injury of other more industrious and more honourable men. In order the more readily to detect a practice so shameful and iniquitous, the Governor judged it requisite to hold out a reward to those





who would come forward and give such information as should be sufficient to prove the offence, by offering one-third of the sum forfeited to the informer. The settlers were also called upon to give information of any labouring man who, on offering himself for hire, should refuse to accept the regulated wages.

The natives of the Hawkesbury were in the month of April again very troublesome. After plundering one settler of all that they could carry away, they burned his dwelling-house and a stack of wheat.

On the 21st, as much wheat as the public granaries at Sydney, Parramatta, and the Hawkesbury, could contain, having been received, they were closed until the month of August following.

Towards the latter end of the month, the Governor, accompanied by some gentlemen of the settlement, set off from Parramatta, on an excursion, in which he meant to obtain some knowledge of the ground between Duck River and George's River, with respect both to its quality and quantity. This tract was walked over, and much excellent land was found, well provided with fresh water in chains of large deep ponds. On this ground some of the marine corps, having completed their service, were desirous of being settled. Thence the Governor and his party proceeded down the river, and stopped at a point near Botany Bay, where they met with several parties of natives, among whom was Pe-mul-wy, who, having perfectly recovered from his wounds, had escaped from the hospital with an iron about his leg. He saw and spoke with one of the gentlemen of the party; enquiring of him if the Governor was angry, and seemed pleased at being told that he was not; notwithstanding which, there could be but little doubt that his savage brutal disposition would manifest itself whenever excited by the appearance of an unarmed man.

During the month of April, a tree was for the first time observed growing on the banks of the Hawkesbury, the bark of which, when soaked in water, and beaten, was found to be as good as hemp for cordage; spinning easily, and being remarkably strong. This tree grew from fifty to seventy feet high; its diameter was from the smallest size to a foot, and it appeared to be of quick growth. This was rather a fortunate discovery; for every kind of cordage belonging to the settlement was wholly expended.

Much rain had fallen during the month; and on the morning of the 27th a heavy squall of wind came on, which, for want of proper care on the part of those at the wind-mill, set it a-going in



so violent a manner, that while flying round with great velocity, a running stone was broken to pieces; one of which so severely wounded the mill-wright that his life was despaired of.

Notwithstanding the example which had lately been made of the natives, they were again exceedingly troublesome to the settlers, wounding their persons and destroying their property. The settlers in Lane Cove were so perpetually alarmed by them, that they collected their whole force, and, a few soldiers being sent to their assistance, went out in the night; when, being directed by their fires to the place where they lay, they discovered a large body of natives collected, no doubt for the purpose of attacking and plundering the settlers. Being unwilling to take any of their lives, a volley of musketry was fired over their heads, which so alarmed them, that they instantly fled, leaving behind them their spears, &c.

It was distressing to observe, that every endeavour to civilize these people proved fruitless. Although they lived among the inhabitants of the different settlements, were kindly treated, fed, and often clothed, yet they were never found to possess the smallest degree of gratitude for such favours. Even Ben-nil-long was as destitute of this quality as the most ignorant of his countrymen. It is an extraordinary fact, that even their children who had been bred up among the white people, and who, from being accustomed to follow their manner of living, it might have been imagined, would be little disposed to relish the life of their parents, when grown up, have quitted their comfortable abodes, females as well as males, and taken to the same savage mode of living, where the supply of food was often precarious, their comforts unworthy to be called such, and their lives perpetually in danger. As a proof of the little personal safety which they enjoyed, a young woman, the wife of a man named Ye-ra-ni-be, both of whom had been brought up in the settlement from their childhood, was cruelly murdered at the brick-fields by her husband, assisted by another native, Cole-be, who first beat her dreadfully about the head (the common mode of chastising their women), and then put an end to her existence by driving a spear through her heart.

When spoken to, or censured, for robbing the maize grounds, these people, to be revenged, were accustomed to assemble in large bodies, and burn the houses of the settlers if they stood in lonely situations, frequently attempting to take their lives; yet they were seldom refused a little corn when they would ask for it. It was imagined that they were stimulated to this destructive



conduct by some runaway convicts, who were known to be among them at the time of their committing these depredations. In order to get possession of these pests, a proclamation was issued, calling on them by name to surrender themselves within fourteen days; declaring them outlaws if they refused; and requiring the inhabitants, as they valued the peace and good order of the settlement, and their own security, to assist in apprehending and bringing them to justice. The Governor also signified his determination, if any of the natives were taken in the act of robbing the settlers, to hang them in chains near the spot as an example to others. Could it have been foreseen, that this was their natural temper, it would have been wiser to have kept them at a distance, and in fear; which might have been effected without so much of that severity which their conduct had sometimes caused to be exercised toward them. But the kindness which had been shown them, and the familiar intercourse with the white people in which they had been indulged, tended only to make them acquainted with those concerns in which they were the most vulnerable, and brought on all the evils that they suffered from them.

On the 16th, His Majesty's ship "Supply" arrived from the Cape of Good Hope. She had met with much bad weather on her passage, and, being exceedingly infirm, her pumps had been kept constantly at work. This ship brought 31 cows, 5 mares, and 27 ewe sheep; all of which were in good health: 8 cows, 2 bulls, and 13 sheep, had died.

On the following morning, a boat which had been fishing to the southward of Botany Bay brought up to the settlement three persons, late belonging to a ship called the "Sydney Cove," which had sailed from Bengal with a cargo for Port Jackson upon speculation. The Governor was informed by the supercargo (one of the three who had arrived), that the ship had sprung a dangerous leak before she had rounded the South Cape, which as soon as they had got to the eastward of the southern part of the coast, increased to so great a degree, as to render it absolutely necessary to haul in for land; which they reached but just in time to ground the ship when she was dropping from under them, having actually sunk down to the fore channels when they ran her upon the ground, which they did on an island in lat. 40° 37' south. They met with this misfortune in the middle of February; soon after which a certain number of them resolved to attempt reaching Port Jackson in the ship's long-boat, leaving the commander and about thirty people to stay by the wreck. The boat being prepared, seventeen people embarked in her, and sailed;



but, meeting with much bad weather, they were again wrecked, being driven on shore on the coast near Point Hicks. Here they all landed, and endeavoured to travel northward, but dropped one by one, and lost each other daily, until the number was reduced to five, the three who had arrived (the supercargo, a sailor, and a lascar), the first mate of the ship, who had undertaken the navigation of the long-boat, and the carpenter. These two, from excessive fatigue, had been unable to proceed any farther, and had stopped the day before their companions in this miserable journey had been taken up by the fishing-boat.

To search for these unfortunate people, a whale boat was dispatched the following day, properly provided with such comforts as were necessary for persons in their weak and wretched condition. They proceeded to the spot pointed out by Mr. Clarke, the supercargo, as that where they had lost sight of their companions; but after the most anxious endeavours could discover only some trifling articles, which were known to have been in their possession; and these being bloody, it was conjectured that they had been killed in their very helpless condition by the natives, whom, in the course of their long march, they had found frequently very kind, and at other times extremely savage. To add to the probability of this having been their end, Mr. Clarke mentioned the morose, unfeeling disposition of the carpenter, who often, when some friendly natives had presented him with a few fish, growled that they had not given him all, and insisted, that because they were black fellows, it would be right to take it by force. By some illiberal and intemperate act of this nature, there was much reason to believe he had brought on himself and his ill-fated companion, the mate (a man cast in a gentler mould), a painful and premature death.

Mr. Clarke, and the two other people who arrived with him, were very much exhausted, and could not probably have borne up much longer against the toil that attends travelling in such a country as the unsettled part of New Holland everywhere presents. All possible attention, however, being paid to their situation, they quickly recovered their strength and spirits.

Several instances have already been given of the danger and difficulty that attended travelling through the woods; in which many people have either wandered till they died, or have been assassinated by the natives. Every caution that humanity could suggest had been given; yet even at this advanced period of the settlement an instance occurred which proved to how little purpose. A soldier, who had taken his passage in a boat to go



to the Hawkesbury, prevailed on the crew to land him on the south shore of Broken Bay, intending to proceed to the settlement by land; but which he was never able to accomplish. Several parties were sent in search of him, but they returned unsuccessful, and no doubt could be entertained of his end having been truly deplorable; as was that of a very fine girl of ten years of age, who about the same time was burnt to death by a stubble field having taken fire while she was in the midst of it. The flames were so rapid, that she was unable to escape from them, and perished in the most extraordinary and terrible manner.

On the 27th of May, the ship "Britannia" anchored between the heads from Ireland, having on board 150 male and 50 female convicts from that kingdom, with an officer and 25 recruits for the New South Wales corps. On the same day the colonial schooner, and a long boat, sailed to the southward, to bring away the remainder of the ship's company belonging to the unfortunate "Sydney Cove."

The want of cordage has been already mentioned. The settlement was likewise so much distressed for canvas, that the largest and best boat in it was useless from the want of sails.

Very little rain had fallen during May.

On the 2nd of June, the "Ganges" arrived from Ireland, with convicts from that kingdom, and a detachment of recruits for the New South Wales corps. These convicts appeared in much better health than those lately arrived in the "Britannia"; indeed, the latter complained so much of having been ill treated during the passage, that the Governor thought it right to institute an enquiry into their complaints; when it appeared that they had been deserving of punishment, but that it had been administered with too much severity, in the opinion even of the surgeon who was present. As these punishments had been inflicted by the direction of the master, without consulting any of the officers on board as to the measure of them, he was highly censured, as was also the surgeon, who could stand by and see them inflicted without remonstrating with the master; which he declined because he had not been consulted by him.

*"Quis talia fando, temperet à lacrymis."*

Early in June the Governor visited the settlement at Parramatta, for the purpose of examining that part of the country, which he designed to cultivate on the public account; and to observe how the convicts who had lately arrived, the major part of whom had been sent thither, were provided for. The cattle



which had been landed from the "Supply" had been also sent thither, and were, with the government stock at Toongabbe, thriving exceedingly.

The ground that it was proposed to clear on the public account was not more than two miles and a half from Parramatta, and most advantageously situated in point of fresh water, having a chain of large and excellent ponds in its vicinity. The spot was marked out by the deputy surveyor whereon to erect the necessary buildings; and the whole was named Portland Place.

In consequence of the proclamation which had been issued, one of the runaway convicts delivered himself up, and another was taken: they appeared to be half starved; yet their sufferings were not sufficient to prevent similar desertions by others, nor a repetition of the offence in themselves; such was the strong aversion which these worthless characters had to anything that bore the name of work. More labour would have been performed by one hundred free people from any part of England or Scotland, than had at any time been derived from three hundred of these, with all the attention that could be paid to them. Had two hundred families of decent labouring farmers been sent out as settlers a few years since, and had a few convicts to assist them been placed wholly under their direction and authority, the cultivation would have been much further advanced; and, in point of provisions, those families would have been living in luxury. More grain than could be consumed would have been grown, instead of crops which in some years were barely sufficient to last until the following harvest.

After exciting some apprehensions for her safety, his Majesty's ship the "Reliance" anchored in the Cove on the 26th, from the Cape of Good Hope, having had a very stormy passage. She brought 26 cows, 3 bulls, and about 60 sheep.

The conclusion of June saw the finishing of the new gaol, which was surrounded by a strong and high fence. It was eighty feet in length, the sides and ends were constructed of strong logs, a double row of which formed each partition. The whole was divided into twenty-two cells, the divisions of which were logs. The floor and the roof were of the same solid materials, over which was a coat eight inches deep of stiff clay, and the roof was thatched. Every accommodation for prisoners was to be found in separate buildings in the prison yard; in which also was a distinct brick building for debtors, fenced off from the felon side (to use an Old Bailey distinction) by a strong and high paling. This, inclosing a spot of ground which had been



marked out on the west side of the Cove for a ship yard, landing provisions from the transports, and completing the granary, had formed the principal labour in which the public gangs were employed during the month, throughout which the weather had been remarkably dry.

In the beginning of July, the "Francis" returned from the wreck of the "Sydney Cove," bringing the remainder of her crew, except six, whom Captain Hamilton, her commander (and the only European belonging to her then alive), had left in charge of that part of her cargo which had been saved. The "Eliza" long-boat, which sailed from the island with them, had on board a few Lascars and some property; but having had to encounter a very heavy gale of wind, and not arriving with the schooner, many doubts were entertained of her safety. These were greatly augmented by a severe storm which came on twelve days after the arrival of the "Francis." The wind blew a hurricane, doing much mischief, and the rain fell in torrents.

The cattle that arrived in the "Reliance" were landed, and looked extremely well. The two colonial ships had been employed eight months on this voyage to and from the Cape, and had added 51 cows, 3 bulls, a few horses, and about 90 sheep, to the stock of domestic cattle in the colony.

This species of provisions was multiplying largely; but the salt meat was decreasing so fast, that it became necessary to issue only half the usual ration of pork.

Early in August, the "Britannia" and the "Ganges" sailed on their respective voyages. In the latter went several convicts who had become free, and some of the marine soldiers who had been discharged from the New South Wales corps, having completed their second engagement in that regiment. They had talked of becoming settlers; but the restless love of change prevailed, and they quitted the colony.

Mr. Clarke, of the ship "Sydney Cove," having mentioned that, two days before he had met the people of the boat which had brought him to Port Jackson, he had fallen in with a great quantity of coal, with which he and his companions made a large fire, and had slept by it during the night, a whaleboat was sent off to the southward, with Mr. Bass, the surgeon of the "Reliance," to discover where an article so valuable was to be met with. He proceeded about seven leagues to the southward of Point Solander; where he found, in the face of a steep cliff, washed by the sea, a stratum of coal, in breadth about six feet, and extending eight or nine miles to the southward. Upon the



summit of the high land, and lying on the surface, he observed many patches of coal, from some of which it must have been that Mr. Clarke was so seasonably supplied with fuel. He also found in the skeletons of the mate and carpenter of the "Sydney Cove," an unequivocal proof of their having unfortunately perished, as was conjectured.

From the specimens of the coal which were brought in by Mr. Bass, the quality appeared to be good; but, from its almost inaccessible situation, no great advantage could ever be expected from it; and, indeed, were it even less difficult to be procured, unless some small harbour should be near it, it could not be of much utility to the settlement.

No circumstance deserving of attention had occurred for some time among the natives. On the 27th of the month, however, one of their young men stood the trial practised by his countrymen, for having killed some person in a quarrel. He stood manfully up against all their spears, and defended himself with great skill and address. Having had two shields split in his hand, by the spear passing through them, his friends, who were numerous, attacked his opponents, whom they disarmed, and broke their shields, with many of their spears.

It had been intended to have thrown some spears at Ben-nil-long at the same time, from its having been reported that a female native, when dying, had declared she dreamed that Ben-nil-long had killed her. Her friends, therefore, resolved to call him to an account, taking the business up on the supposition that the woman must have had some cause of complaint against him, or she could not have dreamed of his doing her an injury. To this accusation Ben-nil-long pleaded not guilty, declaring that he was an entire stranger to the woman, and had never in his life offended her: but there were some who said that he actually wounded the woman, and had been the cause of her death; which, to those acquainted with the temper and disposition of this savage, by no means appeared improbable. Added to his natural brutality, he was now become so fond of drinking that he lost no opportunity of being intoxicated, and in that state was so savage and violent as to be capable of any mischief. On those occasions he amused himself with annoying the women and insulting the men, who, from fear of offending his white friends, spared those notices of his conduct which he so often merited, and which sooner or later he would certainly meet.

The month of September commenced with a very vexatious circumstance. A boat, the largest and best in the colony,



belonging to government, was, on her passage to the Hawkesbury, whither she was carrying a few stores, taken possession of by a part of the boat's crew; being at the same time boarded by a small boat from the shore, the people in which seized her and put off to sea, first landing the coxswain and three others, who were unwilling to accompany them, in Pitt Water in Broken Bay. These men proceeded overland to Port Jackson, where they gave the first information of this daring and piratical transaction. Two boats, well manned and armed, were immediately dispatched after them under the command of Lieutenant Shortland of the "Reliance"; but on the 19th, after an absence of thirteen days, returned without discovering the smallest trace of them or the boat. Mr. Shortland's pursuit, however, had not been without its advantage; for on his return he entered a river which he named Hunter river, about ten leagues to the southward of Port Stephens, into which he carried three fathoms water, in the shoalest part of its entrance, finding deep water and good anchorage within. The entrance of this river was but narrow, and covered by a high rocky island, lying right off it; so as to leave a good passage round the north end of the island, between that and the shore. A reef connects the south part of the island with the south shore of the entrance of the river. In this harbour was found a considerable quantity of very good coal, and lying so near the water side as to be conveniently shipped; which gave it, in this particular, a manifest advantage over that discovered to the southward. Some specimens of this coal was taken to Sydney.

About the same time an account was received from Norfolk Island of the American snow "Mercury" having landed there the remainder of the people which had been left by Captain Bampton in Dusky Bay when the "Endeavour" was wrecked there about twenty months before. The Governor, not having any vessel at Port Jackson fit for such a purpose, had expressed a wish to the master of the snow to that effect, when he was about leaving New South Wales; which service he performed under many difficulties, and brought off all that now remained of these unfortunate people, amounting to 35 in number.

On the 20th of the month, the "Deptford," a small brig, arrived from Madras, with a cargo of goods upon speculation for the Sydney market. The spirit of trade which had for some time obtained in the colony afforded an opening for adventurers to carry their goods to that settlement. The voyage from India was short and direct; and, from the nature of their investments, they



were certain of finding a ready sale, and an ample return upon the original invoice. But this intercourse was found to be pregnant with great evil to the colony; for, preferring spirits to any other article that could be introduced, the owners never failed to make the rum of that country an essential part of every cargo. And though every possible measure was adopted to prevent all that arrived from being landed, yet, such was the avidity with which it was sought after, that, if not permitted, it was generally got on shore clandestinely; and very few ships carried back any of what they had brought. To this source might be traced all the crimes that disgraced, and all the diseases that injured the colony.

At the latter end of September a party set off on an excursion to the Cow-pasture Plains. On reaching Mount Taurus, a distinct herd of the wild cattle, 67 in number, was seen. It was conjectured, that this valuable collection of cattle had so considerably increased, as to find a convenience in dividing into different herds; thereby preventing those quarrels which might frequently happen among their males. This was confirmed by their falling in with, in another place, a herd, in which there could not have been fewer than 170 of these animals. A couple of days were pleasantly occupied in examining that part of the country, which exhibited the beautiful appearance of a luxuriant and well-watered pasturage. The latitude of Mount Taurus was found to be  $34^{\circ} 16' S.$ , and the river Nepean was discovered to take its course close round the south side of this hill. Two gentlemen of the party proposing to walk from Mount Taurus, in as direct a line as the country would admit, to the sea-coast, a whale-boat was ordered to wait for them about five leagues to the southward of Botany Bay. They expected to have reached the coast in one day; but they did not reckon on having full 25 miles of a rugged and mountainous road to cross. Making their course a little to the southward of east, they fell in with the boat very conveniently; and Mr. Bass, one of the travellers, described their route to have laid, the greatest part of the way, over nothing but high and steep ridges of hills, the land becoming more rocky and barren as they drew near the sea coast. In each of the valleys formed by these hills they found a run of fresh water, in some places of considerable depth and rapidity. The direction of these streams, or runs, being to the northward, they were supposed to fall into a harbour which lay about five or six miles to the southward of Port Solander, and had obtained the name of Port Hacking, the pilot of that name having had the honour of the discovery.



The month of October commenced with the loss of another boat, which was taken from Parramatta by some people who got unobserved out of the harbour. The three men who were put on shore from the former boat at the time she was seized upon, being in this party, it was supposed they were connected in some way with those who were in that boat, and whom they might know where to find. An armed boat from the "Supply" was immediately dispatched after them; but it returned as unsuccessful as Lieutenant Shortland had been.

From this circumstance, joined to the badness of the weather from the time of their departure, which had been unusually stormy, there was every probability of their having become the victims of their own temerity. In these two boats 15 convicts had made their escape, 6 of whom had been transported for life; six others were from Ireland, of whose term of transportation no account had been sent out. Whatever might be the fate of these people, the evil was of great extent; since all that could be known of them to their fellow-prisoners was, that they had successfully effected their escape. Had Bryant and his party, who went off with one of the King's boats in the year 1791, instead of meeting with the compassion and lenity which were expressed in England for their sufferings, been sent back, and tried in New South Wales for taking away the boat, and other thefts which they had committed, it was probable that others might have been deterred from following their example.

Such was the increase of crimes, that thrice in October was the court of criminal judicature assembled. The offences that came under their cognizance were those of murder, perjury, and forgery; and two men were tried for having killed a native youth well known in the settlement; but it appearing to the court that he had been accidentally shot, they were acquitted. The natives certainly behaved ill, and often provoked the death they met with; but it is much to be feared that they had been on many occasions wantonly destroyed. One of the criminals was condemned to suffer death; another to be burned in the hand and imprisoned twelve months; two were banished to Norfolk Island, and three to stand in the pillory, to which their ears were to be nailed. These last, affording something like amusement to the mob, were sufficiently covered with dirt and rotten eggs.

It may be some relief to turn from the contemplation of such iniquity, though it should be only to the transactions of savages differing from these wretches but in complexion.



On the 20th of the month the settlement were spectators of a severe contest which took place between two parties of natives; one of which was desirous of revenging the death of a friend, who had been killed by some native of a part of the country from which a young man had just then accidentally come amongst them. He was therefore immediately devoted to their vengeance. He most gallantly stood the attack of numbers, defending himself with the greatest bravery and address, until, being wounded in several places, he fell. As he lay upon the ground, several of his opponents treacherously rushed in upon him, and stabbed him repeatedly with a pointed stick, which they call a Doo-ul. In this situation he endeavoured to cover himself with his shield; on which, having risen from the ground, and being again attacked, he received their spears for some time with great dexterity, until some one, less brave and more treacherous than the rest, took a station unobserved on one side, and launched a spear, which went into his back and there remained. Seeing this they were proceeding a second time to rush in upon him, when he had just strength enough left to make his escape into an adjoining house, where he received shelter, and from the severity of his wounds immediately fainted. The spear was withdrawn, and his wounds dressed by one of the surgeons who happened to be present, and he shortly recovered. His brother, who had accompanied him to the field of battle, stood up in his defence, and was also severely wounded. Several of their women attended on the occasion, and, as is common with them, howled and cried alternately during the fight; sometimes dancing and beating their sides with their arms; a certain proof of their passions being wrought up to the highest pitch.

Shortly after this, these people again exhibited themselves to the notice of the settlement, but in a very different point of view. On the 31st, an open boat arrived from the Hawkesbury, with a cargo of Indian corn, having been boarded in her passage by a party of natives in canoes. Assuming an appearance of friendship they were suffered to come into the boat; when, watching an opportunity, they threw off the mask and made an attempt to seize the small arms. This occasioned a struggle, in which the boat's crew prevailed; but not before some of these unexpected pirates had paid for their rashness with their lives. This business led to a discovery, that a boat belonging to a settler, which was supposed to have been driven out to sea and lost, with her crew and cargo of Indian corn, had actually been taken by the natives,



after murdering those who were in her. The boat, on searching, was afterwards found in the possession of some of these people.

This was so novel a circumstance, that it could scarcely be credited; but it was no less true; and there was but little doubt that the white people who were among them had been the unseen instigators of this mischief.

In the course of October, a strong and durable bridge, capable of sustaining any weight which it might have occasion to bear, was erected over Duck River, for the convenience of land carriage between the towns of Sydney and Parramatta.

The wheat everywhere wore the most promising appearance, and the weather had been very favourable for bringing it to maturity.

Decreasing daily, as did the number of working men in the employ of Government, yet the Governors could not refuse granting certificates to such convicts as had served their respective times of transportation; and no less than 125 men were at this time certified by him to be free. Most of these had no other view in obtaining this certificate, than as it enabled them to quit the settlement.

There being a scarcity of wheat in the public stores, owing to some local disappointments, the Governor was obliged to make a reduction in the weekly allowance of that article, until the crops of the approaching season should be gathered.

Among the acts which disgraced the month of November was one which bespoke uncommon depravity. A convict, who had formerly been the schoolfellow of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, had been taken by that gentleman, who greatly compassionated his fallen state, into his service; where he reposed in him the utmost confidence, and treated him with the kindest indulgence. He had not been long in his house before Mr. Johnson was informed that his servant, having taken an impression of the key of his store-room in clay, had procured one that would fit the lock. He scarcely credited the information; but, being urged to furnish him with an opportunity, he consented that a constable should be concealed in the house, on a Sunday, when all the family, this person excepted, would be attending divine service. The arrangement succeeded but too well. Concluding that all was safe, he applied his key, and was proceeding without any remorse to plunder the room of such articles as he wanted; when the constable, seeing his prey within his toils, started from his concealment, and put an end to his depredations by making him his prisoner.



Thus was this wretched being, without "one compunctious visitant of nature," detected in the act of injuring the man, who, in the better days of his prosperity, had been the companion of his youth, and who had kindly stretched out his hand to shelter him in the hour of his adversity.

Although the settlement of Port Jackson had now been established within one month of ten years, yet little had been added to the stock of natural history which had been acquired in the first year or two of its infancy. The kangaroo, the dog, the opossum, the flying squirrel, the kangaroo rat, a spotted rat, the common rat, and the large fox-bat (if entitled to a place in this society), made up the whole catalogue of animals that were known at this time; with the exception which must now be made of an amphibious animal, of the mole species, one of which had lately been found on the banks of a lake near the Hawkesbury. In size it was considerably larger than the land mole. The eyes were very small. The forelegs, which were shorter than the hind, were observed, at the feet, to be provided with four claws, and a membrane, or web, that spread considerably beyond them; while the feet of the hind legs were furnished, not only with this membrane, or web, but with four long sharp claws, that projected as much beyond the web, as the web projected beyond the claws of the forefeet. The tail of this animal was thick, short, and very fat; but the most extraordinary circumstance observed in its structure was, its having, instead of the mouth of an animal, the upper and lower mandibles of a duck. By these it was enabled to supply itself with food, like that bird, in muddy places, or on the banks of the lakes, in which its webbed feet enabled it to swim; while on shore its long sharp claws were employed in burrowing: nature thus providing for it in its double or amphibious character. These little animals had been frequently noticed rising to the surface of the water, and blowing like the turtle.\*

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\*The peculiar conformation of the amphibious animal above mentioned having attracted the attention of Everard Home, Esq., a Paper, containing the result of a minute examination of the external and internal parts of two specimens which had been preserved in spirits, and sent from Port Jackson to Sir Joseph Banks, was drawn up by Mr. Home, and having been read before the Royal Society, was afterwards published in the Philosophical Transactions. From that paper, which was most obligingly sent to the author of this work by Mr. Home, he has, through the liberality of the President of that learned body, been allowed to select such additional particulars of this curious animal, as will, he trusts, be acceptable to his readers; who, he doubts not, will derive gratification from an animal hitherto unknown to science, having fallen under the



All those hands who were not employed on the public buildings were actively engaged in securing the abundant crops which everywhere promised to reward the industry of the settler and the labourer.

The weather in November had been, for the first and middle parts, very unsettled, blowing hard at times, with much rain.

observation and examination of a gentleman so eminently qualified to develop the secrets of nature.

The natural history of this animal, which has obtained the name of *Ornithorhynchus Paradoxus*, is at present very little known. The following particulars were communicated to Mr. Home by Governor Hunter, who, during his residence in New South Wales, had opportunities of seeing the animal alive.

The *Ornithorhynchus* is only found in fresh-water lakes, of which there are many in the interior parts of the country; some three-quarters of a mile long, and several hundred yards broad. It does not swim upon the surface of the water, but comes up occasionally to breathe, which it does in the same manner as the turtle. When upon the ground it runs with much the same degree of activity as a land tortoise. It inhabits the banks of the lakes, and is supposed to feed in the muddy places which surround them; but the particular kind of food on which it subsists is not known.

The male is  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, from the point of the bill to the extremity of the tail. The bill is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long; and the tail, measuring from the anus,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

The body of the animal is compressed, and nearly of the same general thickness throughout; except at the shoulders, where it is rather smaller. The circumference of the body is 11 inches. There is no fat deposited between the skin and the muscles.

In the female, the size of the body is rendered proportionately larger than that of the male, by a quantity of fat lying everywhere under the skin.

The male is of a very dark brown colour on the back, legs, bill, and tail; the under surface of the neck and belly is of a silver grey. In the female the colour is lighter.

The hair is made up of two kinds; a very fine thick fur, one half of an inch long, and a very uncommon kind of hair, three-quarters of an inch long. The portion next the root has the common appearance of hair; but for a quarter of an inch towards the point it becomes flat, giving it some faint resemblance to very fine feathers: this portion has a gloss upon it; and when the hair is dry, the different reflections from the edges and surfaces of these longer hairs give the whole a very uncommon appearance. The fur and hair upon the belly is longer than that upon the back.

Externally, there is no appearance of the organs of generation in either sex; the orifice of the anus being a common opening to the rectum and prepuce in the male, and to the rectum and vagina in the female.

There was no appearance, that could be detected, of nipples; although the most accurate search was made.

The head is rather compressed. The bill, which projects beyond the mouth, in its appearance resembles that of the duck; but is in its structure more like that of the spoon-bill, the middle part being composed of bone, as in that bird: it has a very strong cuticular covering.

The nostrils are two orifices, very close to each other, near the end of the bill; the upper lip projecting three-quarters of an inch beyond them.



On one day there fell a shower of hail, the stones of which were each as large as a lark's egg. The latter part of the month was fair, and favourable for reaping the grain.

The eyes are very small; they are situated more upon the upper part of the head than is usual, and are directly behind the loose edge of the cuticular flap belonging to the bill. The eye-lids are circular orifices concealed in the hair, and, in the male, are with difficulty discovered; but in the female there is a tuft of lighter hair which marks their situation.

The external ears are two large slits, directly behind the eyes, and much larger than the orifices of the eye-lids.

The teeth, if they can be so called, are all grinders; they are four in number, situated in the posterior part of the mouth, one on each side of the upper and under jaw, and have broad flat crowns. They differ from common teeth very materially, having neither enamel nor bone, but being composed of a horny substance only, embedded in the gum, to which they are connected by an irregular surface in the place of fangs. When cut through, which is readily done by a knife, the internal structure is fibrous like the human nails. The direction of the fibres is from the crown downwards.

Between the cheek and the jaw, on each side of the mouth, there is a pouch, as in the monkey tribe, lined with a cuticle. When laid open, it is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch long, and the same in breadth. In the female it contained a concreted substance, the size of a very small nut, one in each pouch; this, when examined through the microscope, was found to be made up of very small portions of broken crystals.

Besides these grinding teeth, there are two small pointed horny teeth upon the projecting part of the posterior portion of the tongue, the points of which are directed forwards, seemingly to prevent the food from being pushed into the fauces during the process of mastication; which circumstance Mr. Home thinks peculiar to this animal: in the tongue of the Flamingo there is a row of short teeth on each side, but not in any other bird that he has seen.

The forelegs are short, and the web, which is very broad, is continued beyond the points of the toes nearly an inch. On each toe there is a rounded straight nail, which lies loose upon the membrane forming the web.

The hind legs are nearly of the same length as the forelegs, but stronger. Each foot has five toes with curved claws, and webbed; but the web does not extend beyond the points of the toes.

In the male, just at the setting on of the heel, there is a strong crooked spur, half an inch long, with a sharp point, which has a joint between it and the foot, and is capable of motion in two directions. When the point of it is brought close to the leg, the spur is almost completely concealed among the hair; when directed outwards, it projects considerably, and is very conspicuous.

Mr. Home proceeds to describe the internal parts of this uncommon animal; but these, as we think they would be uninteresting to the generality of our readers, we decline giving; referring those lovers of natural history, who wish for a more minute detail, to the Philosophical Transactions.



## CHAPTER XIX.

A circumstance occurred about the beginning of December, which excited much interest in the town of Sydney, and great commotion among the natives. Two of these people, both of them well known in the settlement (Cole-be, the friend of Ben-nil-long, and one of the Ye-ra-ni-bes), meeting in the town, while their bosoms were yet swelling on occasion of some former difference, attacked each other. Cole-be had always been remarked for his activity; but Ye-ra-ni-be was younger than his adversary, and was reckoned a perfect match for him. While closing on each other with their clubs, until which time Cole-be had not gained any advantage, the handle of Ye-ra-ni-be's shield drew out, and it consequently fell from his grasp: while stooping to take it up, the other struck him on the head with a club, which staggered him, and followed his blow while he was in that defenceless situation.

Cole-be knew that this would ensure him the appellation of jee-run, or coward, and that the friends of Ye-ra-ni-be would certainly take up his cause. As the consequences, therefore, might be very serious if Ye-ra-ni-be should die of the blow, he thought it prudent to abscond for a while, and Ye-ra-ni-be was taken care of by some of his white friends. This happened on the 10th, and on the 16th he died. In the interval he was constantly attended by some of his male and female associates, particularly by his two friends, Collins, and Mo-roo-bra. On one of the nights, when a most dismal song of lamentation had been sung over him, in which the women were the principal performers, his male friends, after listening for some time with great apparent attention, suddenly started up, and, seizing their weapons, went off in a most savage humour, determined on revenge. Knowing pretty well where to meet with Cole-be, they beat him very severely, but would not kill him; reserving that gratification of their revenge until the fate of their companion should be decided. On the following night they attacked a relation of Cole-be's, whom they beat about the head with such cruelty that his recovery was very doubtful. As their vengeance extends to all



the family and relations of a culprit, what a misfortune it must be to be connected with a man of a choleric disposition!

Ye-ra-ni-be was buried the day after his decease by the side of the public road. He was placed by his friends upon a large piece of bark, and laid in a grave, which was formed after our manner (only not so deep); they seeming in this instance to be desirous of imitating the custom of their white friends. Ben-nil-long assisted at the ceremony, placing the head of the corpse (by which he stuck a beautiful war-ra-taw), and covering the body with the blanket on which he died. Being supplied with some spades, the earth was thrown in by the bystanders; during which, and indeed throughout the whole of the ceremony, the women howled and cried excessively; but this was the effect of the violent gusts of passion into which the men every moment threw themselves. At this time many spears were thrown, and some blows were inflicted with clubs; but all seemed determined on the death of Cole-be; for the man whose life he had in so cowardly a manner taken away was much beloved by his countrymen.

Cole-be, finding that he must either submit to the trial usual on such occasions, or live in the continual apprehension of being taken off by a midnight murder and a single hand, determined to come forward, and suffer the business to be decided one way or the other. Having signified his resolution, a day was appointed, and he repaired armed to the place of rendezvous. The rage and violence shown by the friends of the deceased were indescribable; and Cole-be would certainly have expiated his offence with his life, but for the interference of several of the military. Although active, and extremely dexterous in the use of the shield, he was overpowered, and, falling beneath their spears, would certainly have been killed on the spot; but several soldiers rushed in, and prevented their putting him to death where he lay, by bearing him off to the barracks.

Ben-nil-long was present at this meeting; but, it was supposed, without intending to take any part in it either way. The atrocity of his friend's conduct had been such, that he could not openly espouse his quarrel; perhaps he had no stomach to the fight; and certainly, if he could avoid it, he would not, by appearing against him, add to the number of his enemies. He was armed, however, and unencumbered with clothing of any kind, and remained a silent spectator of the tumultuous scene, until the moment when the soldiers rushed in to save the life of Cole-be. His conduct here became inexplicable. On a sudden, he chose to be in a rage



at something or other, and threw a spear among the soldiers, which dreadfully took effect on one of them, entering at his back, and coming out at his belly close to the navel. For this he would instantly have been killed on the spot, had not the provost-marshal interfered and taken him away, boiling with the most savage rage; for he had received a blow on the head with the butt end of a musket.

It became necessary to confine him during the night, as well to prevent the mischief with which he threatened the white people, as to save him from the anger of the military; and on the following morning he quitted the town.

This man, instead of making himself useful, or showing the least gratitude for the numberless favours that he had received, had become a most insolent and troublesome savage. As it was impossible sometimes to avoid censuring him for his conduct, he had been known to walk about armed, and heard to declare that it was for the express purpose of spearing the Governor whenever he saw him. This last outrage of his had rendered him more hateful than any of his countrymen; and, as the natives, who had so constantly resided and received so many comforts in the settlement, were now afraid to appear in the town, believing that, like themselves, those whom he had offended would punish all for the misconduct of one, it might rather be expected that Ben-nil-long could not be far from meeting that punishment which he certainly provoked and merited.

There were at this time in the town of Sydney three schools for the education of children; and on the breaking-up for the Christmas holidays the Governor was gratified with the sight of 102 clean and decently-dressed children, who came with their several masters and mistresses, and paid their respects to his Excellency, who examined the progress of the elder scholars.

One moment's reflection on the vices that prevailed in the colony will be sufficient to excite a wish, that some institution could have been devised for separating the greater part of these (at present, innocent) members of the community from their vicious parents, where they could have been educated at the public expense, their propensities to evil corrected, and that turn given to their attainments which should secure them a stock of useful knowledge. An arrangement of this nature was every day becoming more necessary; there being not less than 300 young people already in the town of Sydney, very few of whom had been born in England.



The commander of the wrecked ship "Sydney Cove," having solicited the Governor to spare him the Colonial schooner for the purpose of visiting the wreck of his ship, and the six men whom he had left upon the island in charge of what had been landed; though he could very ill part with the services of the vessel, yet, in consideration of the melancholy state of the people, and the chance that there might be of saving something for the benefit of the underwriters, his Excellency consented, and she sailed the latter end of December, with Captain Hamilton, to the southward.

The weather was now becoming exceedingly hot; and as, at that season of the year, the heat of the sun was so intense that every substance became a combustible, and a single spark, if exposed to the air, in a moment became a flame, much evil was to be dreaded from fire. On the east side of the town of Sydney, a fire, the effect of intoxication or carelessness, broke out among the convicts' houses, when three of them were quickly destroyed; and three miles from the town another house was burnt by some runaway wretches, who, being displeased with the owner, took this diabolical method of showing their ill-will.

The public labour of the month at Sydney comprised the covering of the new storehouse; finishing the church-tower; constructing another windmill; completing the barracks of the assistant-surgeons, with necessary offices; digging the foundations of a house for the master boat-builder; and taking down one of the old marine barracks, on the site of which the Governor proposed to erect a granary.

At Parramatta and Toongabbe, the wheat was nearly all got in and secured. At the latter of these places, a capital barn had been erected for its reception, 90 feet in length, with a complete floor, on which eight or nine pairs of threshers could be employed without inconvenience.

In order to mark the annual increase\*, it may be proper to insert in this place an account of the live-stock, and land in cultivation, at the close of the year 1797, belonging to Government, to the civil and military officers, to settlers, and others.

Live Stock.—Horses 26, mares 58, bulls and oxen 132, cows 195, hogs 4247, sheep 2457, goats (male) 781, ditto (female) 1495.

Land in Cultivation.—Acres in wheat, 3361½; acres for maize, 1527; acres in barley, 261½. In addition to these, a considerable quantity of garden-ground was in potatoes, calavances, and vines.

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\*See the account of the year 1796 in p. 282; where, for *Mares* 57, read *Mares and Horses*, 57.



January, 1798.—The Irish prisoners who had arrived in the last ships from that country had about this period become so turbulent and refractory, and so dissatisfied with their situation, that, without the most rigid and severe treatment, it was impossible to derive from them any labour whatever. In addition to their natural vicious propensities, they conceived an opinion that there was a colony of white people, which had been discovered, situated to the south-west of Sydney, from which it was distant between three and four hundred miles; and where they were assured of finding all the comforts of life, without the necessity of labouring for them. In consequence of this extraordinary rumour, a plan had been formed by some of these deluded people, of escaping from their then residence to this ideal one. The Governor, however, having received early information of the intentions of this party, sent a magistrate to them, desiring that he would expose the folly of their plan; but if, as was suspected, they should prove deaf to reason, and refuse to be convinced, he was to propose that any four whom they would select from their number, and whom they might think capable of travelling over steep and rocky mountains, through thick and extensive woods, and fording deep and rapid streams, should be furnished with as much provisions as each could carry; and further, for the protection of their lives during the journey, three other men, accustomed to the woods, and well acquainted with the savages of the mountains, should be ordered to attend them as far as they should find themselves able to proceed, or until a conviction of the impossibility of success in their mad attempt should induce them to return. The Governor, finding that they persisted in their intention of seeking this New World, directed a party of constables to way-lay and secure as many of them as they were able; which was effected, and sixteen were put into confinement. On speaking to them the following day, they appeared to be totally ignorant whither they were going; but, observing in them as much obstinacy as ignorance, his Excellency justly thought that he could not use an argument more likely to convince them of their misconduct, than by ordering a severe corporal punishment to be inflicted on those who appeared to be the principals in the business; and accordingly seven of them received each two hundred lashes.

Being, on further consideration of the necessity of checking this spirit of emigration, determined to convince them, by their own experience, of the danger and difficulties which attended it, the Governor caused four of the strongest and hardest among



them to be chosen by themselves, and properly prepared for a journey of discovery. They were to be accompanied by three men, upon whom his Excellency could depend, and who were to lead them back, when fatigued and exhausted with their journey, over the very worst and most dangerous part of the country. This plan was no sooner settled, than it was discovered that a party of these miscreants had concerted with the four deputies to meet them at a certain place, where they were to murder the persons intended to be their guides, possess themselves of their arms and provisions, and then pursue their own route. This diabolical scheme was counteracted by the addition of four soldiers to the guides; and on the 14th they set off from Parramatta.

On the 24th the soldiers returned with three of the deputies, who, having gained the foot of the first mountains, were so completely sick of their journey, and the prospect before them, that they requested to return with the soldiers; one man only expressed a resolution to persevere, and penetrate further into the country, and was left with the guides for that purpose.

The history of these people might well be supposed to end here; but their restless dispositions were not calculated to remain long in peace.

It will be seen by recurring to the month of October, that a boat had been carried off in the night by some people who were supposed to have taken her out to sea, where, from the weakness of the boat, they must have perished; but they were now, contrary to all expectation, heard of again. A settler who kept a boat, gave information that she had been boarded in the night off Mullet Island by these very people; and that one of them, having against his inclination been concerned in the robbery, had left them and returned to the settlement. From this man the following particulars were obtained. Having effected the capture, they proceeded to the southward, with an intention of reaching the wreck of the ship "Sydney Cove." For their guide, they had a pocket compass, of which scarcely one man of the fourteen who composed the party knew the use. In this boat they were twice thrown on shore, and at last reached an island, where, had they not fortunately found many birds and seals, they must inevitably have perished.

From the inconceivable hardships which they underwent, they would, to a man, have gladly returned, could they have hoped that their punishment would have been anything short of death. Finding it impossible for such a number of discontented beings



to continue of one mind, or be able to procure food in their miserable situation for so many, they judged it necessary, from a motive of self-preservation, that one-half should deceive the other half; and while they were asleep, those who were prepared took away the boat, leaving their seven wretched and unsuspecting companions upon the desolate island, the situation of which this man could not describe so as to enable the Governor at any time to find it. Their number now being reduced to seven, and thinking themselves in danger so near the settlement, they had been lurking for some time about Broken Bay, with a view of capturing a better boat loaded with grain from the Hawkesbury; and this they effected by taking that which we have mentioned, and afterwards a small one, containing upwards of fifty bushels of wheat. After putting their prisoners into the smaller boat, they in the large one stood off to the northward; where it was very probable they would lose their boat, she being of such a size, that if they should get on shore by any accident, they would not be able to launch her again, and must finally perish.

Here we find extreme ignorance, accompanied by great cunning, producing cruelty; for nothing less can be said of their abandoning the miserable uninformed companions of their crime. Self-preservation was their plea; but was there not a method within their reach, which might have preserved the whole? Might they not have returned to Sydney, and thrown themselves upon the mercy which they had so often seen exercised toward offenders. Even had no such examples, however, given them room for hope, the possession of one spark of generosity, one ray of manly feeling, would have forbid their dooming the wretched companions of their guilt to perish by the hands of savages, or by the more lingering pangs of hunger; but this is one proof among myriads, that a mind long inured to crimes hardens the heart, and renders it callous to the pleadings of humanity.

Occasional desertions of one or two people at a time had occurred from the first establishment of the colony; but the first Irish convicts that arrived from Ireland in the year 1791 went off in numerous bodies, few of whom ever returned. They too were prepossessed with a notion of the possibility of penetrating through the woods to China, and imparted the same idea to all their countrymen who came after them, engaging them in the same act of folly and madness. It was not then to be wondered at, that Wilson, who had returned from living in the woods, should, among other articles of information, mention his finding



more than fifty skeletons, which the natives assured him had been white men, who had lost their way and perished. This account was corroborated by different European articles which were found, such as knives, old shoes, and other things which were known not to belong to the natives.

On the 20th the "Francis" returned with Captain Hamilton from the wreck of his ship. This gentleman stated, that of all the articles which had been taken on shore from the vessel, some spirits and a small quantity of coarse cloth alone had been saved, the remainder having been destroyed by gales of wind and bad weather. The wreck was entirely washed away. Of the six Lascars who had been left with the property, one had died; the other five were in health, and had lived tolerably well, killing upon a neighbouring island as many kangaroos and birds as they could use. These poor fellows had erected a smoke-house, and had salted and smoke-dried as much meat as would serve them during the ensuing winter.

Notwithstanding the severe trial which Cole-be had been put to for the death of Ye-ra-ni-be, the friends of that young man had not thought it sufficient to atone for his loss. One of them, Mo-roo-bra, in company with other natives, meeting the culprit, made an attack upon him, with a determination to put an end to the business and his life together. Cole-be, after receiving several blows on the head, was supposed to have been dispatched; but Mo-roo-bra, seeing him revive and attempting to rise, returned to finish his savage business; which so exasperated another native, that in a rage he threw a spear with all his force at Mo-roo-bra, which entered his right side, just over the hip-bone, and went inclining downwards quite through the body, penetrating the bladder in its passage. Of this wound he died in about an hour. On the same evening this generous fellow was attacked by the friends of the deceased in the usual way; and, as might be expected, defended himself with great gallantry, but received two wounds.

Toward the latter end of the month an Irish convict, who had been some time missing, was brought in. He had wandered about for several days in search of a road to China, or the colony where no labour was required; but his strength failing with his provisions, he grew faint, as well as faint-hearted; and, despairing of meeting with any relief, he had just sense sufficient to reverse the written instructions which had been calculated solely to carry him out, directing him to keep the sun on a particular part of his body, varying according to the time of the day. By this means



he reached nearly to the head of George's River, where, to his great joy, he was met by a settler, who, after detaining him at his house till his exhausted strength was recovered, accompanied him to Sydney. On being questioned how he found his way back, he said, "that a paper compass which had been given him was of no use at all at all; he therefore kept his face towards the place where the sun came from; but if the Lord had not been on his side, he should have been lost; for he had been two whole days without any food, except a little flour and water."

On the first of February the "Francis" was again dispatched to the wreck of the "Sydney Cove."

When Ben-nil-long accompanied Governor Phillip to England in the year 1792, he left a young wife to deplore his absence. The manners of savages, in this instance, were found somewhat to resemble those of civilized life. The lady surrendered to the importunities of a youthful lover; and of him she became so enamoured, that neither the entreaties, the menaces, nor the presents of her husband at his return, could induce her to leave him. From that time she was considered by everyone, Ben-nil-long excepted, as the wife of Ca-ru-ey. He, finding himself neglected by other females whose smiles he courted (after the fashion of his country indeed), sometimes sought to balance the mortification by the forced embraces of his wife; but, her screams generally bringing her lover to her assistance, he was not often successful. In one of these attempts he came off with a severe wound in the head, the lady and her lover laughing very heartily at the rage which it occasioned.

The Government having been informed, by some natives who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Cow-pasture plains, that several of the wild cattle had been killed, and imagining this mischief to have been done by some of the Irish convicts (who were nearly as wild as the cattle), a party of the military, with Hacking, a man well acquainted with that part of the country, was sent out, having orders to surprise, and if possible to secure them. After being absent some days, they returned, and reported, that, having searched the country round, no traces were to be seen of the cattle in any of the places where they had been accustomed to range, nor did they meet with any white people; but the natives persisted in asserting their having seen white men in that quarter, and added that some of the calves had been run down by them. This was not impossible, and the idea was somewhat strengthened, by their finding several short spears pointed with the leg bone of the kangaroo, which were supposed



to be designed for stabbing the calves when caught. Although it was the opinion of these people, that the cattle had quitted the part of the country in which they had been so long known to graze, there was yet much reason to believe that this was not the case; for on visiting them before, they were not always found in the same spot.

On the 9th of February, the three persons who had been sent out with the Irishmen, that were so desirous of discovering a country where they might live more at their ease, returned, so much exhausted with the fatigue, that they had with the utmost difficulty made their way back. By their account they had travelled in a direction S.W. three-fourths W. about 140 miles from Parramatta; a greater distance than any European had ever before been. They brought with them a bird (many of which they had met with), and which on examination appeared to be a variety of the bird of Paradise. The size of this curious and handsome bird was that of a common hen; the colour a reddish black, the bill long, the legs black and very strong: the tail, about two feet in length, was formed of several feathers, two of which were the principal, having the interior sides scalloped alternately of a deeper or lighter reddish brown inclining to orange, shading gently into a white or silver colour next the stem, crossing each other, and at the very extremity terminating in a broad black round finishing. The difference of colour in the scallops did not proceed from any precise change in the colour itself, but from the texture of the feather, which was alternately thicker and thinner. The fibres of the outer side of the stem were narrow and of a lead colour. Two other feathers of equal length, and of a bluish or lead colour, lay within those; very narrow, and having fibres only on one side of the stem. Many other feathers of the same length lay within those again, which were of a pale greyish colour, and of the most delicate texture, resembling more the skeleton of a feather than a perfect one.\*

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\*Since the above was written, the author has been favoured with the following more minute description:—

“The bill of this bird, which has been denominated *Mænura Superba*, is straight, having the nostrils in the centre of the beak. The base of the upper mandible is furnished with hairs like feathers turning down; the upper mandible is at the base, somewhat like that of the pigeon. The eye is a dark hazel, with a bare space around it. The throat and chin are of a dark rufous colour; the rest, with the body, of a dusky grey. The feathers on the rump are longer than those of the body, and more divided. The colour of the wings, which are concave, is dark rufous. The legs and claws are large in proportion to the bird, particularly the claws. The outward toe is connected with the middle one as far as the



With the ripening of the maize fields, the depredations of the natives returned. On the 19th, the Governor received a dispatch from Parramatta, containing an account, that a man had been murdered by them near Toongabbe, and three others severely wounded: a few days after, two others were killed in the same manner. These circumstances rendered it absolutely necessary to send out numerous well-armed parties, and attack them wherever they should be met with; for lenity or forbearance had only been followed by repeated acts of cruelty.

Toward the latter end of the month, Mr. Bass, the surgeon of the "Reliance," returned from an excursion in an open boat to the southward, after an absence of twelve weeks. This gentleman requested the Governor to allow him a boat, and permit him to man her with volunteers from the King's ships; proposing to go along the coast, and make such observations as might be in his power. The Governor readily consenting, he set out, as well provided as the size of his boat would allow; and in her proceeded as far to the southward as the latitude  $40^{\circ} 00'$ , visiting every opening in the coast; but only in one place to the southward and westward of Point Hicks, finding a harbour capable of admitting ships. There was every appearance of an extensive strait, or rather an open sea, between the latitudes of  $39^{\circ}$  and  $40^{\circ}$  south;

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first joint. The tail is long, and composed of three different sorts of feathers, of which the upper side is of a dark grey, with ferruginous spots. The first two lower feathers, which are a little curved in two directions, are, beneath, of a pearly colour, enriched with several crescent-shaped spaces, of a rich rufous and black colour. The laminae are unwebbed, turned round towards the extremity, and ornamented with a black bar, the breadth of an inch, and fringed at the end. The shaft of the second, which is likewise long, is fringed with long hair-like filaments; and the third, which is also long and curved, is plumed on the inner side only, except at the extremity, where there are a few separated filaments of a dark grey colour.

"The female *Manura Superba* differs very little from the male, except in the tail, which is composed of twelve feathers a little curved and plumed, having the upper side dark rufous and grey, and the under of a pearly colour.

"The following curious particulars of these birds were observed by persons resident in the country, and who were eye-witnesses to what is here told.

"They frequent retired and inaccessible parts of the interior; have been seen to run remarkably fast; but their tails are so cumbrous that they cannot fly in a direct line. They sing for two hours in the morning, beginning from the time when they quit the valley, until they attain the summit of the hill; where they scrape together a small hillock, on which they stand, with their tail spread over them, imitating successively the note of every bird known in the country. They then return to the valley."



and that Van Diemen's land consisted (as had been conjectured) of a group of islands lying off the southern coast of the country.

It appeared from Mr. Bass's account, that there was but very little good ground to the southward. His occasional excursions into the interior, situated as he found himself with an open boat, in which he could carry but a small stock of provisions, could not be very extensive; he, however, went far enough to discover that there was but little good land near the sea; but, had it even been superior to those parts which were known, the want of harbours, even for small vessels, would lessen its value much. He regretted that he had not been possessed of a better vessel, which would have enabled him to circumnavigate Van Diemen's land. On his return, he picked up, on an island near the coast, the seven men who, it may be remembered, were a part of those that had carried off a settler's boat, and had been left by their companions. Being utterly incapable of taking them into his boat, he put them upon the main land, after furnishing them with what was necessary for their support. Two, who were ill, he took into his boat, and left the other five to begin their march of four hundred miles to Port Jackson. They were nearly naked, and almost starved, and must have inevitably perished had not Mr. Bass discovered them.

Wishing to obtain further information respecting a salt-hill, seen by the guides in their late excursion with the Irish convicts, the Governor had sent a trusty person thither. At his return he produced some specimens of various veins of salt which he fell in with in different places, of ten and twelve feet in depth. He reported that he found the country everywhere intersected with narrow, but deep and rapid branches of fresh water rivers, over some of which he was obliged to swim; others he was able to ford.

Having been directed to seek for the wild cattle, he found them about six miles from the place where they had usually been found; the herd was much more numerous than any that had hitherto been seen, amounting to at least 170, besides several stragglers. It was a satisfaction to know that they were perfectly safe.

The men who, in the beginning of January, had boarded and carried off a boat, were heard of in the latter end of March, when a report was spread that a piratical boat was infesting the harbour of Broken Bay, and the Hawkesbury; and the following day a letter signed by these men, was received by the Governor, in which they professed to repent of their former conduct, and implored forgiveness. They said that they had been wrecked, and with difficulty got on shore, saving as much of the remains



of their boat as enabled them to build a smaller one, in which they had returned, to surrender themselves to justice; pretending to have had their eyes opened to the danger with which attempts at desertion from the colony must ever be attended, and promising to convince the minds of their ignorant countrymen that every such attempt must be followed by inevitable ruin. The language of this letter was far above the capacity of any of the party; the truth was, they had proposed to live by piracy; but after the loss of their boat, being no longer able to procure provisions, and in danger of being taken, they determined on giving themselves up as the safest course they had left.

They were armed with five muskets; and certainly had the will, as well as the ability, to do a great deal of mischief. They were placed in confinement, and charges preferred against them for piracy, which was absolutely necessary; as the suffering of such offences to pass with impunity would have been productive of the greatest evil.

Sixteen months having elapsed since either provisions or stores had been received, arrivals from England began to be rather anxiously expected. Public works went on slowly; the servants of Government being but few in proportion to the labour to be performed by them, and all kinds of implements bad in quality, and scarce.

There had been very little intermission of rain, thunder, and lightning, during the whole of this month.

April opened with a necessary act of justice. Five men were capitally convicted, before the court of criminal judicature, of seizing boats with an intent to escape from the colony. One man was capitally convicted of a robbery; three were transported to Norfolk Island, and one was adjudged to corporal punishment.

Two of the five condemned for seizing the boats suffered death at Sydney, after a week's preparation for that awful moment. Their companions were respited at the place of execution. These unfortunate people were both extremely penitent, confessed the justice of their sentence, and acknowledged how much mischief they had done, and how much more they meditated, had they not been overtaken by justice.

The settlers, although certainly undeserving of the attention which they met with from the Governor, were constantly laying their complaints before him; many of these either did not exist at all, or were of a most trivial nature: one of the number, however, called for his serious attention. It originated in the unbounded rage for traffic that pervaded nearly the whole settlement. The delivery of grain into the public storehouses, when



open for that purpose, was so completely monopolized, that the settlers had but few opportunities of getting the full value for their crops. A few words will place this iniquitous combination in its proper light. The settler found himself thrust out from the granary, by a man whose greater opulence created greater influence. He was then driven by his necessities to dispose of his grain for less than half its value. To whom did he dispose of it? to the very man whose greater opulence enabled him to purchase it, and whose greater influence could get it received into the public store! Order after order had been issued on this very subject, the storekeepers being most pointedly directed to give the preference to the man whose grain was the produce of his own labour; and if any favour were shown, to let it be to the poor but industrious settler. But these necessary and humane directions had been too often frustrated by circumstances which were carefully kept from the knowledge of the Governor; it was, however, proved to him, that on occasion of the store at the Hawkesbury being opened for the reception of 1,500 bushels of wheat, the whole was engrossed by two or three of these opulent traders, to the exclusion and injury of others, and of the petty farmers in general. The storekeeper was not dismissed, because a better might not have been found; but the Governor directed, that half the quantity of wheat thus partially and improperly put in should be taken away, and room made for the accommodation of the settlers.

A report prevailed among the labouring people, particularly the Irish, who were always foremost in every mischief and discontent, that an old woman had prophesied the arrival of several French frigates, or larger ships of war, who were, after destroying the settlement, to liberate and take off the whole of the convicts. The rapidity with which this ridiculous tale was circulated is incredible; and the effect such as might be expected. One refractory fellow, while working in a numerous gang at Toongabbe, threw down his hoe, advanced before the rest, and gave three cheers for liberty. This for a while seemed well received; but the business was rather unpleasantly interrupted, by the advocate for liberty being seized by order of a magistrate, tied up, and treated with a severe flogging. The prophetess, a poor old Scotch woman, took an early opportunity of exculpating herself to the Governor, whom she assured of her innocence; protesting that all the foundation for the accusation against her was, her having related a dream that she had had, of ships having arrived.



## CHAPTER XX.

On the 14th, a small brig, the "Nautilus," arrived from Otaheite in very great distress, being leaky and worn out. In her came several of the missionaries who had been sent thither from England for the purpose of propagating the Christian religion; but who, not feeling themselves on a comfortable footing with the natives of that island, had eagerly embraced the opportunity of quitting it with their families, to the number of nineteen, who embarked in this little vessel. Her size not admitting of her receiving any more, six or seven were of necessity left behind, whose fate was certainly very precarious. Those who had arrived were treated by the colonists with every attention, and every possible relief administered to their distresses.

The expected signal for a vessel was at length made, and on the 18th the ship "Barwell" arrived from England, with male convicts, and some stores and provisions. Having touched at the Cape of Good Hope, she there heard of the loss of the "Lady Shore" transport in her passage to Port Jackson, having on board about 60 convicts, three only of whom were males, and a large assortment of all kinds of stores, which had been so long and so greatly wanted. There was also a complete company of recruits for the New South Wales corps on board, to whom was owing the loss of the ship; for, after murdering the commander, and his first mate, they took possession of the ship, and carried her into Rio de la Plata, where she was delivered up to the Spaniards. This ship, besides the public stores, had a great deal of private property on board, and was a serious loss to the colony.

In the "Barwell" arrived a judge-advocate, in the room of Captain Collins, who had resigned that situation.

Toward the latter end of the month, the settlers at the northern farms were much annoyed by the natives, who came down in a body, and burnt several houses. This was not the only misfortune that attended the farmers at this time, as much mischief occurred from a violent squall of wind, attended with a shower of hail-stones, many of which measured six inches in circumference, and appeared to be an accumulation of smaller hail-stones, which had



adhered together, by the intensity of the cold in the higher region of the air, until they became of the above size. Much rain fell during the month.

The 4th of June was, as usual, observed with all the respect and attention so peculiarly its due; and on the 6th the Governor went up to Parramatta, in order to travel into the northern district in search of a proper place for settling, as farmers, such of the missionaries lately arrived from Otaheite, as were disposed to continue in the settlement. He also proposed to fix there some free settlers who had been sent out by Government, if he should find a sufficiency of good ground. On a minute examination of the country, he had every reason to pronounce it superior to any that had yet been seen, and in quantity equal to the establishment of several families. The land was not only good and well watered, but everywhere easily cleared, and at the convenient distance of five or six miles from Parramatta. Being satisfied with the situation, he recommended it to the missionaries; but the most of them declined it. To the few who consented, a proportion of tools, grain, and such assistance as could be spared, was given.

The house of Campbell and Clarke, at Calcutta, not discouraged by the fate of their unfortunate ship, the "Sydney Cove" (of which they were the proprietors), fitted out another, a snow, which, in compliment to the Governor, they named the "Hunter," and sent her down with an assortment of India goods, and a few cows and horses. She arrived on the 10th of the month; when the Governor, to crush as much as possible the spirit of monopoly which had so long subsisted, gave public notice that no part of the cargo should be disposed of, until the settlers in the different districts had stated to him what sums of money they could severally raise; which, it was to be understood, must be in government notes then in their possession, and not those which they might purchase upon the strength of their crops.

It was also ordered, that no boat or person (except the pilot-boat, or such other as might be sent with an officer to bring on shore the public dispatches) should attempt to board any ship arriving in the harbour, until she should be properly secured in the Cove, and the master had been with the Governor and received the port-orders.

Captain Hamilton, the commander of the "Sydney Cove," survived the arrival of the "Hunter" but a few days. He never recovered from the distresses and hardships which he suffered on



the loss of his ship, and died exceedingly regretted by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

The month of July opened with the arrival of the "Cornwall," southern whaler, the master of which informed the Governor, that some Spanish cruisers having appeared off Cape Horn, the whalers of the southern fishery were directed to pass into these seas during the war. The "Cornwall" was followed by two others, the "Eliza" from the Cape of Good Hope, and the "Sally."

This circumstance was likely to be attended with some advantages to the settlement. The whale-fishing on the coast would be effectually tried, and the position of shoals, or the existence of harbours or rivers ascertained.

Having in a few days refitted their ships, the three whalers sailed upon their fishing voyages.

Previous to their departure, the "Argo," a small American schooner arrived, last from the Isle of France, having on board a cargo of salt provisions, some French brandy, and other articles, upon speculation; and on the 18th arrived the "Britannia," whaler, from England, with 94 female convicts. The cattle that came in the "Hunter," and which were sold by auction about the same time, were not greater objects of contest than were these ladies, the number of women in the settlements bearing no proportion to the men.

The weather during July was much colder than common at that season; and in the interior part of the country there was a sharp frost every night.

The Governor wishing to have that part of the coast examined in which a strait was supposed to exist (between the latitude of 39° 00' S. and the land hitherto deemed the southern promontory of New Holland, and called Van Diemen's land), resolved on sending Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, of the "Reliance," on that service, in the "Norfolk" ( a small decked boat which had lately been sent from Norfolk Island); and gave orders for her being properly fitted for the voyage.

Early in August a battle took place among the natives, in which Ben-nil-long was very dangerously wounded.

From the knowledge that was daily gained of the inhuman habits and customs of these people, their being so thinly scattered through the country ceased to be the matter of surprise. It was constantly seen, that from some trifling cause or other they were continually living in a state of warfare; to this must be added their brutal treatment of their women, who are themselves equally



destructive to the measure of population, by the horrid and cruel custom of endeavouring to cause miscarriage; this their female acquaintance effect by pressing the body in such a way, as to destroy the infant in the womb; which violence not unfrequently occasions the death of the unnatural mother also. To this they have recourse, to avoid the trouble of carrying the infant when born, which, when it is very young, or at the breast, is the duty of the woman. The operation for this destructive purpose is termed *mee-brā*. The burying an infant (when at the breast) with the mother, if she should die, is another shocking cause of the thinness of population among them.

A second battle among the natives was fought during the month, in which three were killed, and several wounded; among the latter was Ben-nil-long, who had but just recovered from his former wound.

The weather in July had been remarkably cold: in August it was as remarkably sultry, and the wind high, which set many parts of the country on fire, and destroyed some property. The surveyor-general's house, with every article in it, was consumed.

On the 17th the "*Barwell*" sailed for China. By her the Governor addressed a letter to the Governor-general of India; informing his lordship, that having transmitted to the Secretary of State copies of the letters upon the subject of raising recruits in Port Jackson for the army in India, which had been received in the year 1796, by the officers who were sent from Calcutta; it was the opinion of His Majesty's ministers, that the inconveniences attending such a measure would more than counterbalance the advantages of it, and that permission for that purpose could not therefore be granted.

Another adventurer entered the port on the 1st of October, viz., the "*Semiramis*," from Rhode Island, bound to China. She made her passage in three months and nine days.

On the evening of the same day the church on the east side of the Cove was discovered to be on fire, and every effort to save it proved ineffectual; for the building being covered with thatch, which was at the time exceedingly dry and combustible, it was completely consumed in one hour. This was a great loss; for during the working days of the week the building was used as a school, in which from 150 to 200 children were educated, under the immediate inspection of Mr. Johnson, the clergyman. As this building stood alone, and no person was suffered to remain in it after the school hours, there was not a doubt but the atrocious



act was the effect of design, and had been perpetrated in consequence of an order enforcing attendance on divine service, and with a view of rendering the Sabbath a day of as little decency and sobriety as any other in the week. The workers of the mischief were, however, disappointed; for the Governor, highly irritated at such a shameful act, suffered not a single Sunday to be lost, having ordered a new storehouse, which was just finished, to be fitted up as a church.

On the 7th the two Americans sailed for China; and at the same time the "Nautilus" brig and "Norfolk" long-boat sailed for Van Diemen's land. The "Nautilus" was to try, during that season, what the seal-fishing among the islands to the southward might produce. In the "Norfolk" were Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, who were instructed to examine the existence of the strait supposed to divide Van Diemen's land from the continent.

The rage for trade occasioned such a continued scene of contention and litigation among the people, that much inconvenience was experienced, in the liberties which were taken of imprisoning the public servants of the Crown for debts contracted with many of the petty dealers; notwithstanding an order which had been given out in the year 1788, by the late Governor Phillip, in which the colony was informed, that the convicts had no property of their own, their clothing, their time, and their labour, being the property of Government, and not at their own disposal. This order having worn out of their recollection, it became necessary to renew it. Notice was therefore given, that the public servants of the Crown were not to be detained from their duty by imprisonment for debt; and if any person should be desirous of accommodating them with credit, it must be wholly and absolutely upon the strength of their own good faith in the integrity of such people, and not under the idea that they could arrest and imprison them according to the forms of law; and it was to be generally understood, that Government would by no means dispense with the labour of its servants for the accommodation of any private dealings whatever.

On the evening of the 11th, another fire happened in Sydney. A row of buildings, which had been erected for the nurses, and other persons employed about the hospital, was set on fire and totally consumed.

Toward the latter end of the month the Governor visited the settlers at the Hawkesbury, and made some useful regulations in the prices of labour. He found the farms promising plenty.



On the 27th the "Marquis of Cornwallis" arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, with a cargo of cattle on Government's account, consisting of 158 cows and 20 bulls.

Instead of living peaceably and pleasantly at the Governor's house, as he certainly always might have done, Ben-nil-long preferred the rude and dangerous society of his own countrymen; visiting the settlement only when induced by the recollection of the comforts which he could nowhere else obtain. Intelligence now reached the town that he was again dangerously wounded. This man had lately received and recovered of several wounds, any of which would have been sufficient to have destroyed a European. But these people, in general, owed their existence more to their good habit of body (living free from the use of spirituous liquors and the luxuries of the table) than to any other cause. Unless this be admitted, it will be difficult to account for their surviving the desperate wounds which they had been often known to receive.

An instance of the fatal effects of misguided conduct, and a too late sense of criminality, occurred about this time in the tragical end of Nathaniel Franklyn, the Governor's steward. This man, whom he had brought from England, had the whole care and management of his Excellency's domestic concerns entrusted to him. He had been repeatedly cautioned by his master against the many artful and designing acquaintances which he had formed in the town; it was proved, however, that he had not possessed fortitude enough to withstand their solicitations, but had consented to rob the Governor to a very considerable amount, abusing the unlimited confidence which had been placed in him, and making use of his name in a most iniquitous manner. Of the infamy of his conduct he was at last fatally sensible; and, retiring into a shrubbery in the garden of his injured master's house, shot himself through the head.

The harvest, which was begun in November, was completed early in December; but, owing to a most tedious and unfortunate drought of ten months, the wheat did not turn out more than one-third of what had been expected.

On the 19th the "Francis" schooner arrived from Norfolk Island, where all were in good health. Lieutenant Shortland, who had received directions to search for Sir Charles Middleton island and shoal, on his return produced his journal and a chart of the various traverses which he had made in quest of the island, and compared them with those made formerly by Lieutenant (now Captain) Ball in his Majesty's armed brig "Supply," who had



been sent by Governor Phillip expressly on the same pursuit. The extensive range taken by those two officers in the search, and their not having met with even any indications of land near that situation, left little reason to believe in the existence of the island. That of the shoal was not so doubtful, there being much reason to believe that a dangerous bank or shoal did somewhere thereabouts exist.

The "Indispensable" and "Britannia" whalers, which had been fishing on the coast, returned on the 29th, for the repairing of some defects and to refresh their crews. They had not been more than 30 leagues from the coast, and thought themselves rather successful for the time (only two months); the one having got 54, and the other 60 tons of spermaceti oil.

In the early part of the month Fahrenheit's thermometer at the Hawkesbury stood at 107 in the shade. Many people were at this time much afflicted with inflammations of the eyes, attended with extreme pain; dysenteric complaints were also very common.

The seamen belonging to the "Supply" having completed their half-moon battery, part of the ship's guns were mounted on it; and, in addition to other public works, some people had been employed in white-washing the houses in the town of Sydney, and repairing such of the buildings as required it.

The live stock, and the ground in cultivation, had been considerably increased in the year 1798; as will be seen by comparing the following account of each with the return of the preceding year:—

Live Stock.—Horses 44, mares 73, bulls and oxen 163, cows 258, hogs 2867, sheep (male) 1459, sheep (female) 2443, goats (male) 787, goats (female) 1880.

Land in Cultivation.—Acres in wheat 4659, acres in maize 1453, acres in barley 57.

The new year (1799) commenced with granting certificates to such convicts as had completed their several terms of transportation. Many of these, having been sent out, who had not more than two years to serve after their arrival, proved, by claiming their discharge, a considerable drawback on field labour, as well in Norfolk Island as in New South Wales. But this was not the only evil. In this way there were let loose upon the public a number of worthless characters, who, not having any means of getting out of the country, became a troublesome and dangerous pest, living by mischief and robbery. They also consumed a vast proportion of the provision which was raised



in the colony. Still, as the law had spent its force against them, there was no denying them the restoration of their rights as free people. The convicts had suffered much through want of clothing and bedding. Indeed, during the late harvest, several gangs were seen labouring in the fields, as free of clothing of any kind as the savages of the country. This had made them insolent and discontented; and anonymous letters were dropped, threatening what they would do in the proper season. Some of the Irish had likewise taken up the idea that Ireland had shaken off its connection with England, and that they were no longer to be considered as convicts under the British government. This was a most pernicious idea to be entertained by such a lawless set of people, and required the strong arm of government to eradicate it.

Agricultural concerns at this time wore a most unpromising appearance. The wheat proved little better than chaff, and the maize was burnt up in the ground for want of rain. From the establishment of the settlement, so much continued drought and suffocating heat had not been experienced; the country was in flames, the wind northerly and parching; and some showers of rain which fell on the 7th were of no advantage, being immediately taken up again by the excessive heat of the sun.

On the 12th, Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass returned from the examination of Van Diemen's Land. As the result of this little voyage was the ascertaining of the existence of a strait separating Van Diemen's Land from the continent of New Holland, it may not be improper to enter with some degree of minuteness into the particulars of it; and the writer of these pages feels much gratification in being enabled to do this, from the accurate and pleasing journal of Mr. Bass, with the perusal and use of which he was favoured.

The "Norfolk," as has been already stated, sailed upon this voyage of discovery about the 7th of October, 1798, with Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, and on the 11th anchored in Twofold Bay. Mr. Bass, on examination, found Twofold Bay situated at the southern end of a short chain of hummocky hills, one part of which is much more conspicuous than the rest, and lies immediately behind the bay. The land on the west side, being a part of this chain of hills, is high and rocky. The shore is divided into steep cliff heads, with small intermediate beaches; the one formed by the most prominent of the ridges, the other by the sand thrown up at the foot of their valleys. Behind the beaches are ponds of brackish water.



The abruptness and sudden rise of the hills, for the most part, permit the vegetable earth to be washed down into the valleys, as fast as it is formed. Some of the more gradual slopes retain a sufficiency of it to produce a thick coat of tolerably succulent grass; but the soil partakes too much of the stony quality of the higher parts to be capable of cultivation. The dark luxuriant foliage of the valleys points out the advantages which they had received from the impoverished hills. Their soil is rich and deep, but their extent is narrow and limited. Both hill and valley produce large timber, and brushwood of various heights.

In the south-west corner of the bay is a lagoon, or small inlet, that communicates with the sea, through the beach, at the back of which it lies. The chain of hills here runs back to some little distance from the water, and leaves a few square miles of rather good ground, through which the inlet was found to take its course in a winding direction to the south-west for six or eight miles, where it ends in small swamps and marshes. Large boats might enter this place at a third flood, and proceed to the further part of it. From five to seven hundred acres of a light sandy soil might be picked out in patches of from fifty to a hundred acres each; but on the side next the mountain it soon became stony, and on that next the lagoon it was wet and salt.

The country along the back of the bay lies in rounded stony hills scarcely fit for pasturage, but covered with timber, and patches of short brush.

On the south side was another shallow inlet, larger than that on the south-west; but the returning tide did not allow time to proceed to the head of it.

Speaking generally of the land round the bay, it might be said to be much more barren than productive.

The most common timber is a sort of gum-tree, the bark of which, along the trunk, is that of the ironbark of Port Jackson; and its leaf, that of the blue gum-tree; but its branches toward the head are of a yellow colour, and smooth. The wood is longer grained, and more tough, splitting easier and more true, than any other species of the gum-tree.

The natives are, in person, similar to those living about Port Jackson; but their language was perfectly unintelligible. They used canoes, of which they seemed very careful; for on the boat approaching a party of them, they hastily paddled on shore, and, taking their canoes upon their heads, ran off into the woods. This was on Mr. Bass's first visit. They, however, appeared less shy of their visitors on his second; and there was reason to believe



that a friendly intercourse might have been easily established with them.

But very few marks of the kangaroo were seen. Both quadrupeds and birds appeared to be less numerous here than in other places. A few ducks, teal, herons, cranes, and a bird named from its bill the redbill, were found, with some small flights of curlew and plover of a beautiful feather, upon the lagoons.

The rocks consist of hardened clay, in which are mixed great numbers of small stones, variously tinged, some with red, others with yellow. Small portions of calcareous spar lie scattered about upon the surface of the rocky ground; strata of which are deposited irregularly in fissures formed in the body of the rocks themselves.

Leaving Twofold Bay, the sloop proceeded to the southward; and on the 17th she made a small cluster of islands, in latitude  $38^{\circ} 16'$ , which now bears the name of Kent's Islands. These are six or seven in number, and of various sizes. Their height is very considerable; and they are as irregular in figure as can well be imagined in land whose hummocks are no one of them more lofty than another. This small group appears to be formed of granite, which is imperfectly concealed by long straggling dwarfish brush, and some few still more diminutive trees; and is cursed with a sterility that might safely bid defiance to Chinese industry itself. Nature is either working very slowly with those islands, or has altogether ceased to work upon them; for a more wild deserted place is not easily to be met with. Even the birds seemed not to frequent them in their usual numbers.

Having passed Kent's group, standing to the southward, the next morning Furneaux's Islands were in sight, and on the following day they anchored at Preservation Island, which is one of them. These islands appear to consist of two kinds, perfectly dissimilar in figure, and, most probably, of very unequal ages, but alike in the materials of which they are formed. Both kinds are of granite; but the one is low, and rather level, with a sand covered with low brush and tufted grass: the other is remarkably high, bold, and rocky, and cut into a variety of singular peaks and knobs: some little vegetable soil lies upon these.

Preservation Island is of a very moderate height. A surface of sand, varying in depth, and mixed in different scanty proportions with vegetable soil, scarcely hides from view the base, which is of granite. In several places, vast blocks of this stone



lie scattered about; as free from vegetation and the injuries of the weather as if they had fallen but yesterday: and, what is remarkable, most of them, probably all, are evidently detached from the stone upon which they rest, so entirely that they might be dragged from the place where they lie, if it were thought worth while to apply a power sufficient to produce so useless an effect. It would seem, then, that these loose blocks have fallen from some place higher than that upon which they were found; but that is impossible, for they are higher than any part of the island. And the supposition that the injuries of the air and the rain caused the removal of that part of the granite which might originally have been of a corresponding height with these remaining blocks, seems hardly admissible in the present instance. Perhaps subterraneous or volcanic fires may have caused this curious appearance.

The vast bulk of these blocks renders them so conspicuous, that the attention is first struck with them upon approaching the island. There is on the north side, where the island is particularly low and narrow, a slip of calcareous earth, which discovers itself near the surface of the water. It is not, for the most part, pure; for broken pieces of the granite are mixed with it in various proportions. Some parts are a mere mass of these broken pieces cemented together by the calcareous matter; whilst others are an almost perfect chalk, and are capable of being burnt into excellent lime. Broken sea-shells and other exuviae of marine animals, are apparent throughout the whole mass.

Upon the beach, at the foot of this chalky rock, was found a very considerable quantity of the black metallic particles which appear in granite as black shining specks, and are, in all probability, grains of tin.

To find this small bed of the remains of shell animals, of which chalk is formed wherever found, in such an unexpected situation, excited some surprise; and Mr. Bass endeavoured to investigate the cause of this deposit, by examining the form of the neighbouring part of the island. The result of his inquiries and conjectures amounted to this: that as traces of the sea, and of the effects of running waters, were plainly discernible in many parts of the island, and more particularly in the vicinity of this deposit of chalk and granite, it seemed highly probable, that it had been formed by two streams of the tide, which, when the island was yet beneath the surface of the sea, having swept round a large lump of rocks, then met and formed an eddy, where every substance would fall to the bottom. The lump of rocks is



now a rocky knoll, which runs tapering from the opposite side of the island towards the chalk. On each side of it is a gap, through which the two streams appear to have passed.

The vegetation on the island seems brown and starved. It consists of a few stunted trees, with several patches of brush, close set and almost impenetrable.

A small spot upon the east end of the island presented a phenomenon which seemed not easily explicable by any known laws of that class of natural history to which it alone was referable.

Amidst a patch of naked sand, upon one of the highest parts of the island, at not less than 100 feet above the level of the sea, within the limit of a few hundred yards square, were lying scattered about a number of short broken branches of old dead trees, of from one to three inches in diameter, and seemingly of a kind similar to the large brushwood. Amid these broken branches were seen sticking up several white stony stumps, of sizes ranging between the above diameter, and in height from a foot to a foot and a half. Their peculiar form, together with a number of prongs of their own quality, projecting in different directions from around their base, and entering the ground in the manner of roots, presented themselves to the mind of an observer with a striking resemblance to the stumps and roots of small trees. These were extremely brittle, many of them, when taken into the hand, breaking with their own weight.

On being broken transversely, it was immediately seen that the internal part was divided into interior or central, exterior or cortical. The exterior part, which in different specimens occupied various proportions of the whole, resembled a fine white and soft grit-stone; but acids, being applied, showed it to be combined with a considerable portion of calcareous matter. The interior or central part was always circular; but was seldom found of the same diameter, or of the same composition, on any two stumps. In some, the calcareous and sandy matter had taken such entire possession, that every fragment of the wood was completely obliterated; but yet a faint central ring remained. In others, was a centre of chalk, beautifully white, that crumbled between the fingers to the finest powder; some consisted of chalk and brown earth, in various quantities, and some others had detained a few frail portions of their woody fibres, the spaces between which were filled up with chalky earth.

It appeared, that when the people of the "Sydney Cove" first landed on the island, the pieces of dead branches that at the



time were lying round the stumps, then formed, with them, the stems and branches of dead trees complete. But by the time Mr. Bass visited the place, the hands of curiosity, and the frolics of an unruly horse that was saved from the wreck, had reduced them to the state already described.

Mr. Bass had learned, from authority on which he could rely, that when the trees were in a complete state, the diameter of the dead wood of the stem that rose immediately from the stony part, was equal to the diameter of that part; and also that a living leaf was seen upon the uppermost branches of one of them. But he could not ascertain whether the stony part of the stem was of an equal height in all the trees.

To discover to what depth the petrification had extended, Mr. Bass scratched away the sand from the feet of many of the stumps, and in no instance found it to have proceeded more than three or four inches beneath the surface of the sand, as it then lay; for at that depth the brown and crumbling remains of the root came into view. There were, indeed, part of the roots which had undergone an alteration similar to that which had taken place in the stems: but these tended to establish the limits of the petrifying power; for they had felt it only either at their first outset from the bottom of the stems, or when, being obstructed in their progress, they had of necessity arched upwards toward the surface.

In attempting to account for the cause that had operated to produce this change in the structure of the lower parts of the stems of these trees, Mr. Bass felt the utmost diffidence. He found that all his conjectures, which were best supported by existing facts, led him to place them among petrifications; although no strict analogy could be seen between them and the subjects usually met with of this kind. Admitting them, however, as petrifications, it is certain that there must once have existed a pond in which the petrifying water was contained; but the ground in their neighbourhood retained no positive traces of any such receptacle. There were, indeed, near them, some few lumps or banks consisting of sand, and a little vegetable earth which was held together by dead roots of small trees, and elevated above the rest of the ground, to the height of five, six, or eight feet; but the relative position of these with each other was so confused and irregular, that nothing but the necessity of a once existing reservoir could ever lead anyone to conjecture that these might have been parts of its bank. Mr. Bass, however, rather concluded that this must have been the case, and that the



remainder of the bank had been torn away, and the pond itself annihilated by some violent effort of an unknown power.

Notwithstanding the narrow limits of the island, abundance of small kangaroos were found to inhabit its bushy parts. There were sooty petrels, likewise, in great abundance. The water of this island was thought to have been injurious to the health of the people of the "Sydney Cove." It was supposed to contain arsenic, which was highly probable, from an experiment that was made with the metallic particles that were taken to be tin: a large fume of what bore marks of arsenic arose from the crucible during the time of smelting it. Water was at first very scarce; but, owing to some unusual falls of rain, several little runs and swamps were found; and a low piece of ground, where the inhabitants had deposited their dead, was now a pond of an excellent quality.

Although he had seen but few of the low islands of Furneaux, yet Mr. Bass had not any doubt but that this account of Preservation Island would in general answer for the description of any of them.

Mr. Bass's next landing was on the southern end of Cape Barren Island; which was indeed barren; but it was, he remarks, very singular, that a place wherein food seemed to be so scarce, should yet be so thickly inhabited by the small brush kangaroo, and a new quadruped, which was also a grass-eater.

This animal, being a stranger, appears to merit a particular description. The Wombat (or, as it is called by the natives of Port Jackson, the Womback) is a squat, thick, short-legged, and rather inactive quadruped, with great appearance of stumpy strength, and somewhat bigger than a large turn-spit dog. Its figure and movements, if they do not exactly resemble those of the bear, at least strongly remind one of that animal. Its length, from the tip of the tail to the tip of the nose, is thirty-one inches, of which its body takes up twenty-three and five-tenths. The head is seven inches and the tail five-tenths. Its circumference behind the forelegs twenty-seven inches; across the thickest part of the belly thirty-one inches. Its weight, by hand, is somewhat between twenty-five and thirty pounds. The hair is coarse, and about one inch, or an inch and five-tenths, in length; thinly set upon the belly, thicker on the back and head, and thickest upon the loins and rump. The colour of it a light sandy brown, of varying shades, but darkest along the back.

The head is large and flattish, and, when we are looking the animal full in the face, seems, excluding the ears, to form nearly



an equilateral triangle, any side of which is about seven inches and five-tenths in length; but the upper side, or that which constitutes the breadth of the head, is rather the shortest. The hair upon the face lies in regular order, as if it were combed, with its ends pointed upwards in a kind of radii from the nose, their centre.

The ears are sharp and erect, of two inches and three-tenths in length, stand well asunder, and are in nowise disproportionate. The eyes are small, and rather sunken than prominent, but quick and lively. They are placed about two inches and five-tenths asunder, a little below the centre of the imaginary triangle towards the nose. The nice co-adaptation of their ciliary processes, which are covered with fine hair, seems to afford the animal an extraordinary power of excluding whatever might be hurtful.

The nose is large or spreading; the nostrils large, long, and capable of being closed. They stand angularly with each other, and a channel is continued from them towards the upper lip, which is divided like that of the hare. The whiskers are rather thick and strong, and are in length from two to three inches and five-tenths. The opening of its mouth is small; it contains five long grass-cutting teeth in the front of each jaw, like those of the kangaroo; within them is a vacancy for an inch or more; then appear two small canine teeth of equal height with, and so much similar to, eight molars situated behind, as scarcely to be distinguishable from them. The whole number in both jaws amounts to twenty-four.

The neck is thick and short, and greatly restrains the motions of the head, which, according to a common expression, looks as if it were stuck upon the shoulders.

From the neck the back arches a little as far as the loins, whence it goes off at a flat slope to the hindmost parts, where not any tail is visible. A tail, however, may be found by carefully passing the finger over the flat slope in a line with the backbone. After separating the hairs, it is seen of some five-tenths of an inch in length, and from three to one-tenth of an inch in diameter, naked except for a few short fine hairs near its end. This curious tail seemed to hold a much bolder proportion in the young than in the full-grown animal.

The forelegs are very strong and muscular; their length, to the sole of the paw, is five inches and five-tenths, and the distance between them is five inches and five-tenths. The paws are fleshy, round, and large, being one inch and nine-tenths in diameter.



The claws are five in number, attached to as many short digitations. The three middle claws are strong, and about eight or nine-tenths of an inch in length; the thumb and little finger claws are also strong, but shorter than the others, being only from six to seven-tenths of an inch. The fleshy root of the thumb claw is smaller and more flexible than the others. The sole of the paw is hard, and the upper part is covered with common hair, down to the roots of the claws which it overhangs. The hind legs are less strong and muscular than the fore; their length, to the sole, is five inches and five-tenths; the distance between, seven inches and five-tenths. The hind paw is longer than the fore, but not less fleshy. The claws are four in number. The three inner ones are less strong, but about two-tenths of an inch longer than the longest of the fore claws; and there is a fleshy spur in the place of a thumb claw. The whole paw has a curve, which throws its fore part rather inward.

In size the two sexes are nearly the same; but the female is, perhaps, rather the heaviest.

In the opinion of Mr. Bass, this Wombat seemed to be very economically made; but he thought it unnecessary to give an account of its internal structure in his journal.

This animal has not any claim to swiftness of foot, as most men could run it down. Its pace is hobbling, or shuffling, something like the awkward gait of a bear. In disposition it is mild and gentle; but it bites hard, and is furious, when provoked. Mr. Bass never but once heard its voice; but at that time it was a low cry, between a hissing and a whizzing, which could not be heard at a distance of more than thirty or forty yards. He chased one, and with his hands under the belly suddenly lifted him off the ground, and laid him upon his back, along his arm, like a child. It made no noise, nor any effort to escape, not even a struggle. Its countenance was placid, and it seemed as contented as if it had been nursed by Mr. Bass\* from its infancy. He carried the beast upwards of a mile, and often shifted him from arm to arm, sometimes laying him upon his shoulder, all of which he took in good part; until, being obliged to secure his legs while he went into the brush to cut a specimen of new wood, the creature's anger arose with the pinching of the twine; he whizzed with all his might, kicked and scratched most furiously, and snapped off a piece from the elbow of Mr. Bass's coat. Their friendship was here at an end; and the creature remained

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\*The kangaroo, and some other animals of New South Wales, are remarkable for being domesticated as soon as taken.



implacable all the way to the boat, ceasing to kick only when he was exhausted.

This circumstance seemed to indicate, that with kind treatment the Wombat might soon be rendered extremely docile, and probably affectionate; but let his tutor beware of giving him provocation, at least if he should be full grown.

Both in these islands, and in the mountains to the westward of Port Jackson, their habitation is under ground, the creature being admirably formed for burrowing; but to what depth it descends does not seem to be ascertained. His food is not yet well known; but the stomachs of such as Mr. Bass examined were distended with a coarse wiry grass.

Cape Barren, besides the kangaroo and Wombat, is inhabited by the porcupine ant-eater; a rat with webbed feet; parroquets, and a small bird of beautiful plumage unknown at Port Jackson. Black snakes with venomous fangs were numerous; and the rocks toward the sea were covered with fur-seals of great beauty. "In point of animated life, nature seems (says Mr. Bass) to have acted so oddly with this and the neighbouring islands, that if their rich stores were thoroughly ransacked, I doubt not but the departments of natural history would be enlarged by more new and valuable specimens than they ever before acquired from any land of many times their extent."

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## CHAPTER XXI.

Leaving Furneaux's Islands, the "Norfolk" proceeded toward the north coast of Van Diemen's Land; and on the 4th of November they passed within a mile of a high grassy cape, which is the seaward extremity of a ridge, that, rising by a gentle ascent, retreats and joins some chains of lofty mountains. A small rocky island lay two miles from it to the W.S.W. At noon the latitude was  $40^{\circ} 55' 25''$ , and the longitude  $147^{\circ} 16' 30''$ .

Early in the afternoon a gap in the land, situated at the back of a deep narrow bight, which had for some time attracted attention, began to assume the appearance of an inlet, which they bore away to examine; and, after running three miles, found that they had shut in the line of the coast on each side, and were impelled forward by a strong inset of tide; and when the sloop was on the point of entering the harbour, which appeared to be fairly open before her, the water shoaled suddenly, she struck the ground and lay fast; but fortunately the strong flood in a few minutes dragged her over into deep water, and shot her into the entrance with uncommon velocity.

Having advanced within the entrance, the harbour began to expand itself in a kind of large basin. Its shores were broken into points and projections, between some of which the great strength of the flood tide led them to expect it would branch off into arms. The land lying immediately upon its borders was low, but not flat; well wooded; and those points near which the sloop passed were clothed with a very unusual degree of verdure. The sun being down, the vessel was anchored for the night, and the next day they proceeded with their researches.

They were employed during sixteen days in the examination of this place; and the result of the observations which were made by Mr. Bass in different parts of it, and the neighbouring country, are thrown by that gentleman into one general account.

This harbour, or inlet, which was named, by the Governor, Port Dalrymple, takes its course from the S.E. between two chains of rounded mountains, stretching inland from the sea with an almost imperceptible increase of elevation; and, after gradually approximating each other, seemed to unite, at the



distance of between thirty and forty miles, in a body of rugged mountains more lofty than themselves. These two chains, in their relative positions, formed an acute angle; being at their greatest distance asunder, as measured along the sea-coast, only sixteen miles. Being pressed for time, they were deterred from attempting to reach the head of the river; but it was hardly to be doubted, that its principal source proceeded from some part near the point of union of the two chains of mountains. Allowing this supposition, a great part of its stream must be perfectly fresh; for at the place where they ended their examination, which was not more than half of the whole supposed distance or length of the river, it had become half fresh half salt, although its breadth was from half a mile to a mile and a half, and its depth eight or nine fathoms.

The country which Mr. Bass had an opportunity of observing, was a certain portion of that lying within the angle formed by two chains of mountains; and more especially of the parts which lay contiguous to the water, rather than of those situated in the vicinity of the chains.

The quality of the ground, taking it in the aggregate, was much superior to that of the borders of any of the salt-water inlets of New South Wales, Western Port excepted. The vegetable mould was, however, found to be of no great depth, and was sometimes, perhaps advantageously, mixed with small quantities of sand.

The best of the soil was found upon the sides of sloping hills, and in broad valleys between them. Some parts, that were low and level, had a peat-like surface, bounded by small tracts of flowering shrubs and odoriferous plants, that perfumed the air with the fragrance of their oils.\* These retained, in general, the appearance of those in New South Wales; while they were, in reality, very different. The rich and vivid colouring of the more northern flowers, and that soft and exquisite gradation of tints, for which they are so singularly distinguished, hold with those here, but in a less eminent degree. The two countries present a perfect similarity in this, that the more barren spots are the most gaily adorned. The curious florist and scientific botanist would find ample subject of exultation in their different researches in Port Dalrymple.

Except in these places, the grass grows not in tufts, but covers the land equally with a short nutritious herbage, better

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\*In this particular they differ from the flowering shrubs of New South Wales; few of which, beautiful as they were in other respects, were found to possess the smallest particle of odour.



adapted, possibly, to the bite of small than of large cattle. The food for the latter grows in bottoms of valleys and upon the damp flats. A large proportion of the soil promised a fair return to the labours of the cultivator, and a lesser ensures an ample reward; but the greater part would, perhaps be more advantageously employed if left for pasturage, than if thrown into cultivation; it would be poor as the one, but rich as the other.

Water was found in runs more than ponds; and, though not abundant, it was far from being scarce.

The west side of the river furnishes the largest quantity of the best ground. The country lying near the west arm is chiefly rather flat, and might be converted to many useful purposes, both in agriculture and in pasturage; for which last it is probably well calculated. If it should ever be proposed to make a settlement here, this part seems to merit very particular attention. The best land seems to be that fine hilly country which lies at the back of an island named Middle Island; but access to it is not easy, on account of a large shoal extending along its front, which is dry at low water.

In sailing up the river, the points and shores present an appearance of fertility that astonishes an eye used to those of the rocky harbours of New South Wales. They are mostly grassed, as well as wooded, close down to the water side; but everywhere a dark luxuriant vegetation meets the view.

The tides run so uncommonly rapid, that if the port were colonized, and the principal town built, as it no doubt would be, near the entrance, the produce of the villages and farms scattered along its banks might be brought to market with the greatest ease, expedition, and certainty.

The heavy timber is chiefly gum-tree of various species; of which, two are different from any that have been yet seen in this country. The smaller trees and shrubs resemble, with some variety, those of the continent.

The grey kangaroo, of a very large size, abounded in the green forest; the brushes were tenanted by the smaller black kind.

The plumage of the parrots forms a gloomy contrast with the rich lustre of those near the settlement, their colours being rather grave than gay. The melancholy cry of the Bell-bird (*dil-boong*, after which Ben-nil-long named his infant child) seems to be unknown here. Many aquatic birds, both web-footed and waders, frequent the arms and coves of the river; but the black swans alone are remarkable in point of number. Mr. Bass once



made a rough calculation of three hundred swimming within the space of a quarter of a mile square, and heard the "dying song" of some scores; but that song, so celebrated by the poets of former times, exactly resembled the creaking of a rusty alehouse sign on a windy day. Not more than two-thirds of any flock which they fell in with could fly; the rest could do no more than flap along upon the surface of the water, being either moulting or not yet come to their full feather and growth, which they require two years to attain. They swam and flapped alternately, and went on surprisingly fast. When in danger, they immerse their bodies so far that the water makes a passage between their neck and back; and in this position they would frequently turn aside a heavy load of shot. They seemed to be endowed with much sagacity; in chase, they soon learned the weakest point of their pursuers, and, instead of swimming directly from them, as they did at first, always endeavoured in the most artful manner to gain the wind. To their affection for their young, Mr. Bass has seen some lamentable sacrifices; but of their fierceness, at least when opposed to man, or their strength, he had seen no instance.

Among other reptiles were found the snake with venomous fangs, and some large brown guanos.

This country is inhabited by men; and, if any judgment could be formed from the number of huts which they met, in about the same proportion as New South Wales. Their extreme shyness, however, prevented any communication. They never even got sight of them but once, and then at a great distance. The huts, of which seven or eight were generally found together, were wretchedly contrived; and it appears somewhat strange that in the latitude of  $41^{\circ}$ , want should not have sharpened their ideas to the invention of some more convenient habitation, especially since they have been left by nature without the confined dwelling of a hollow tree, or the more agreeable accommodation of a hole under a rock. A canoe was never met with, and concurring circumstances showed that this convenience was unknown here. Hence, from the little that has been seen of the condition of our own species in this place, it appears to be much inferior in some essential points of convenience to that of the despised inhabitants of the continent. How miserable a being would the latter be, were his canoe taken from him, his stone hatchet blunted, his hut pervious to the smallest shower of rain, and few or no excavations in the rocks to fly to! but happiness, like everything else, exists only by comparison with the stage above and the stage below our own. The circumstances which occasioned this



difference between the people of two countries so near each other, and so much alike in their natural productions, must remain hidden from our observation, until perhaps some permanent European settlement shall be made in Van Diemen's land.

The range of the thermometer, taken in various parts of the port, was at night from  $49^{\circ}$  to  $52^{\circ}$  and at noon from  $58^{\circ}$  to  $64^{\circ}$ .

On the 20th of November they left Port Dalrymple, and proceeded to the westward; but, the wind changing, they were driven back to Furneaux's islands, where, the gale continuing at west, they were detained until the 3rd of December, when they were enabled to proceed. Their progress was slow, and unavoidably at too great a distance from the shore to form any just idea of the country; but what was seen of it appeared high and mountainous, the mountains forming into hummocks and low peaks, to which a few large shapeless knobs added a great singularity of appearance. On the haze clearing away, and the shore being distinctly seen, it appeared rocky, but wooded nearly down to the water's edge. A remarkable peaked mountain, some few miles inland, might have been thought, from its shape and height, to have been once a volcano. A very singular lump of high level, or table land, lay at a few miles to the westward in the coast line; and at some distance beyond it, a point appeared with three knobs of land lying off it, resembling islands. This was named Table Cape. From this time nothing of moment occurred till the 11th, when they stretched in for the land, a large extent of which was indistinctly visible through a light haze that hung about the horizon. At noon the latitude was  $41^{\circ} 13'$ , and the longitude  $148^{\circ} 58'$ , with a fresh breeze at N.N.E. they bore away along the shore, which trends to the S.E. by E. and is distant three or four miles.

From a shore of beach, with short rocky points at intervals, the land rose gradually to a considerable height, the aspect of which was barren and brushy, and the soil sandy. Several short reefs of rocks lay in front of the beaches, and broke the long swell into a surf of tremendous appearance.

Dreading a gale of wind from the west, which was threatening, and might have proved fatal to their little vessel, they hauled out to the S.S.W.; but the weather remained moderate.

On the following morning the wind flew round to the northward, and they continued their route along the shore. Early in the forenoon they passed a singularly formed point, with a number of lumps of rock lying some two or three miles off it to the S.W. It resembled an artificial pier, or mole, with warehouses



upon it, and a lighthouse on the end next the water. Large masses of detached oblong rocks gave the appearance of warehouses, and a remarkably long one standing upon its end that of the lighthouse. Their latitude at noon was  $42^{\circ} 02'$  and the longitude  $145^{\circ} 16'$ . The coast still trended to the S.S.E., and the land began to change that uniformly regular figure which it had hitherto preserved. It was becoming mountainous and uneven, but was still barren.

Mr. Bass and his fellow voyager, Lieutenant Flinders, did not hesitate now to conclude that they had passed through the strait, and from the Pacific had entered the Southern Indian Ocean; for what within the extent of a vast sea could give birth to the monstrous swell that was rolling in before their eyes? and the coast was evidently trending towards the S.W. cape.

It was worthy of remark (Mr. Bass says), that the northern shore of the strait, from Wilson's Promontory (seen in the whale-boat) to Western Port, resembled the bluff bold shore of an open sea, with a swell rolling in, and a large surf breaking upon it; while the southern shore, or what is the coast of Van Diemen's land, appeared like the inner shore of a cluster of islands, whose outer parts break off the great weight of the sea. The cause of this is immediately obvious, on recollecting that the swell of the Indian Ocean enters the strait from the southward of west. The greater part of the southern shore lies in a bight, whose western extreme is Hunter's Isles, and the N.W. cape of Van Diemen's land. Now as the swell comes from the southward, as well as the westward, it must, after striking upon the north-west part of the southern shore, evidently run on in a direction somewhat diagonal with the two sides of the strait, until it expands itself upon the northern shore, where both swell and surf are found. But to the southward of this diagonal line the swell must quickly take off, and totally disappear, long before it can reach the shore to make a surf. Hence arises the difference.

That the swell of the Indian Ocean comes, by far the greater part of the way, from the southward of west, can hardly be doubted, since it is well known that prevailing winds are from that quarter.

Early in the afternoon of the 11th, a piece of land stood out from the line of the coast like an island, but was soon found to be joined to the main by a sandy beach. The shore beyond it looked rugged and craggy, and the land equalled the most sterile and stony that had been seen.



Towards noon the coast began to rise into chains of lofty mountains, which ran along in nearly the same line as the coast. The latitude was  $43^{\circ} 07'$ , the longitude  $145^{\circ} 42'$ . A large smoke that got up astern of the vessel was the first sign of inhabitants that had been seen upon this west coast, the appearance of which was miserably barren.

At eight in the evening they passed the S.W. cape of Van Diemen's land, hitherto known as that of New Holland. It is a narrow piece of land, projecting from the higher land at no great distance, with two flattish hummocks, that gave it some little resemblance to the Ram Head near Plymouth. At sunset they were about a mile and a half from the South Cape.

The south-west and south capes lie nearly east and west of each other, and are distant about fifteen leagues. The intermediate coast forms the southern boundary of Van Diemen's Land; but if taken upon the more extensive scale of the whole southern hemisphere, it appears, as the southern point of New Holland, to be of equal respectability with the extremity of Terra del Fuego, and of the Cape of Good Hope, the south points of the continents of America and Africa.

Like that of Terra del Fuego, the extremity of Van Diemen's Land presents a rugged and determined front to the icy regions of the South pole; and like it seems once to have extended further south than it does at present. To a very unusual elevation, is added an irregularity of form, that justly entitles it to rank among the foremost of the grand and wildly magnificent scenes of nature. It abounds with peaks and ridges, gaps and fissures, that not only disdain the smallest uniformity of figure, but are ever changing shape, as the point of view shifts. Beneath this strange confusion, the western part of this waving coast-line observes a regularity equally remarkable as the wild disorder which prevails above. Lofty ridges of mountain bounded by tremendous cliffs, project from two to four miles into the sea, at nearly equal distances from each other, with a breadth varying from two miles to two and a half. The bights or bays lying between them are backed by sandy beaches. These vast buttresses appear to be the southern extremities of the mountains of Van Diemen's Land; which, it can hardly be doubted, have once projected into the sea far beyond their present abrupt termination, and have been united with the now detached land, De Witt's Isles. These isles, (so named, probably, by Tasman) twelve in number, are of various sizes. The two largest are from three to four miles in circuit. Their sides are steep; but



their height is inferior to that of the main. The largest is the lowest. Their aspect, like that of the main, bespeaks extreme sterility.

A great smoke that arose at the back of one of the bights showed the main to be inhabited; but they could not suppose the people of this place to be furnished with canoes, when those of Adventure Bay, in their neighbourhood, were unprovided with them. Nothing, therefore, was left to their choice, but to allow that they might transport themselves over, either upon logs of wood, or by swimming across; and, as the most probable reward of such an exertion would be, the capture of birds while breeding, or the seizure of their eggs, the utility of spreading fires in facilitating such operations is obvious.

After passing several places of smaller note, they entered Herdsman's Cove; above which, it being the opinion of Mr. Bass and his companion that the sloop could not proceed, they went up the Derwent River in her boat, imagining that one tide would enable them to reach its source; but in this they were mistaken, falling, as they believed, several miles short of it. Where the returning tide met them, the water had become perfectly fresh; the stream was two hundred and thirty yards in breadth, and in depth three fathoms. It was wedged in between high grassy hills that descended to the river upon a quick slope, and had a very grand appearance. But the only culturable patches of land that they saw were some few breaks in the hills, and some narrow slips that were found at their foot close to the water's side.

In their way up, a human voice saluted them from the hills; on which they landed, carrying with them one of several swans which they had just shot. Having nearly reached the summit, two females, with a short covering hanging loose from their shoulders, suddenly appeared at some little distance before them; but snatching up each a small basket, these scampered off. A man then presented himself, and suffered them to approach him without any signs of fear or distrust. He received the swan joyfully, appearing to esteem it a treasure.

His language was unintelligible to them, as was theirs to him, although they addressed him in several of the dialects of the New South Wales, and some few of the most common words of the South Sea Islands. With some difficulty they made him comprehend their wish to see his place of residence. He pointed over the hill, and proceeded onwards; but his pace was slow and wandering, and he often stopped under pretence of having lost



the track; which led them to suspect that his only aim was, to amuse and tire them out. Judging, then, that in persisting to follow him they must lose the remaining part of the flood tide, which was much more valuable to them than the sight of his hut could be, they parted from him in great friendship.

The most probable reason of his unwillingness to be their guide seemed to be, his fearing that if he took them to his women, their charms might induce them to run off with them—a jealousy very common with the natives of the continent.

He was a short slight man, of a middle age, with a countenance more expressive of benignity and intelligence, than of that ferocity or stupidity which generally characterized the other natives; and his features were less flattened, or negro-like, than theirs. His face was blackened; and the top of his head was plastered with red earth. His hair was either naturally short and close, or had been rendered so by burning, and, although short and stiffly curled, they did not think it woolly. He was armed with two spears, very ill made, of solid wood. No part of their dress attracted his attention, except the red silk handkerchiefs round their necks. Their firearms were to him objects neither of curiosity nor fear.

This was the first man they had spoken with in Van Diemen's Land; and his frank and open deportment led them not only to form a favourable opinion of the disposition of its inhabitants, but to conjecture that if the country was peopled in the usual numbers, he would not have been the only one they should have met. A circumstance which corroborated this supposition was, that in the excursions made by Mr. Bass into the country, having seldom any other society than his two dogs, he would have been no great object of dread to a people ignorant of the effects of fire-arms, and would certainly have been hailed by anyone who might have seen him.

They fell in with many huts along the different shores of the river, of the same bad construction as those of Port Dalrymple, but with fewer heaps of mussel-shells lying near them. The natives of this place, probably, drew the principal part of their food from the woods; the bones of small animals, such as opossums, squirrels, kangaroo rats, and bandicoots, were numerous round their deserted fireplaces; and the two spears which they saw in the hands of the man were similar to those used for hunting in other parts. Many trees also were observed to be notched. No canoes were ever seen, nor any trees so barked as to answer that purpose.



Besides the small quadrupeds already mentioned, they observed the grey and red kangaroo. The feathered tribes were apparently similar to those of Port Dalrymple. Here again they daily ate their swan, the flocks of which even exceeded those that they had before met with.

The most formidable among the reptiles was the black snake with venomous fangs, and so much in colour resembling a burnt stick, that a close inspection only could detect the difference. Mr. Bass once, with his eyes cautiously directed towards the ground, stepped over one which was lying asleep among some black sticks, and would have passed on without observing it, had not its loud hiss attracted his attention the moment afterwards.

He determined on taking him alive, in order to try the effect of his bite upon a hawk that he had in his possession. In the contest, he bit himself; after which he was soon mastered, and in less than ten minutes died. Having never before known a snake of his size to be killed by a few very slight blows with a stick, which was so rotten as scarcely to bear the weight of its own blow, he was at a loss to conceive how death had so suddenly succeeded so much vigour in an animal so tenacious of life. Was it possible that his own bite could have been the cause? When, three hours afterwards, the skin was stripped off, the flesh for some distance round the marks of his teeth was found inflamed and discoloured.

The account of the Derwent River being now closed, and the whole of what was learned of Van Diemen's Land related, it may not be improper, says Mr. Bass, to point out the manner in which this country and New South Wales appear to differ in their most essential quality, that of their soil.

In adjusting their comparative fertility, the contrasted disposition of their soils is much more prominent than any inequality in their quantity. They are poor countries; but, as far as the eye of discovery has yet penetrated into either, the culturable soil of the latter is found lying in a few distinct patches of limited extent, and of varying quality; while the soil of the former, being more equally spread, those spots of abundant richness, or large wilds of unimprovable sterility, are much less frequently seen.

Although Van Diemen's Land seems to possess few or none of those vast depths of soil with which the happiest spots of New South Wales are blessed; yet it seldom sickens the hearts of its traveller with those extensive tracts which at once disarm industry, and leave the warmest imagination without one beguiling project.



In point of productive soil Mr. Bass gives the preponderance to Van Diemen's Land.

In one particular, which to the inhabitants of a civilized country is of the utmost importance, both countries are but too much alike: each is amply stored with water for the common purposes of life, but deficient in those large intersections of it which, in other more fortunate countries, so much facilitate the operations of man, and lead commerce to the door of even the most inland farmer.

Two rivers only, Port Dalrymple and the Derwent, are known to descend from Van Diemen's Land; but by Point St. Vincent, possibly, there may be a third.

On the 3rd of January they left the Derwent, and proceeded to the northward, coasting the east side of Frederick-Henry Bay, which was for the most part high and steep to the sea. The figure of the shore, between what is now called Cape Basaltes and Cape Pillar, exhibited one of those great works of nature which seldom fail to excite surprise: it was all basaltic. The cape is a vast high wedge, which projects into the sea, surmounted by lofty single columns.

Early on the morning of the 8th they were among the islands lying off the Patriarchs. These were three in number; the largest of which was high, rocky, and barren, with a basis of granite; which, like that of Preservation Island, laid scattered about in large detached blocks. Mr. Bass landed upon the outermost, and found it well inhabited. The various tribes had divided it into districts. One part was white with gannets, breeding in nests of earth and dried grass. Petrels and penguins had their underground habitations in those parts of the island which had the most grass. The rocks of the shore, and blocks of granite, were occupied by the pied offensive shag and common gull; geese, red-bills, and quails, lived in common; and the rest was appropriated to the seals, who seemed to be lords of the domain. Mr. Bass remarked with surprise, that though the principal herd scampered off like sheep, as is usual on the first approach, yet the males, who possessed a rock to themselves, where they sat surrounded by their numerous wives and progeny, on his drawing near them, hobbled up with a menacing roar, and fairly commenced the attack, while the wives seemed to rest their security upon the superior courage and address of their lords; for, instead of retreating into the water in the utmost consternation, they only raised themselves upon their fore fins, as if ready for a march,



keeping their eyes upon the males, and watching the movements of the enemy.

Having collected as much stock as was necessary, they stood to the northward, and on the 12th reached Port Jackson.

On delivering the account of his voyage to the Governor, he named the principal discovery which was the event of it, Bass Strait, as a tribute to the discoverer.

The most prominent advantage which seemed likely to accrue to the settlement from this discovery was, the expediting of the passage from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Jackson.

The vessel that has the credit of having first circumnavigated Van Diemen's Land was built at Norfolk Island, of the fir of that country, which was found to answer extremely well.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

We must now return to the other affairs of the settlement, from which we have been so long absent.

Agricultural concerns wore as unpromising an appearance as in the last month. The Governor, in a visit which he made to Parramatta, found that the pasture over the whole country had been entirely burnt up; in consequence of which the grazing cattle were in great distress; and, from the lamentable continuance of the drought, the maize was everywhere likely to fail: a misfortune that would ruin the stock of hogs, and considerably reduce the settlement in the article of bread.

That he might ascertain what quantity of grain he had to depend on, all those who cultivated ground were directed to give in, by a certain time, a return of the wheat and other grain in their possession. About this time his Excellency received from Norfolk Island the satisfactory intelligence, that the wheat harvest had there been more productive than usual but the maize was likely to fall short from a similar want of rain.

At the close of January the Criminal Court of Judicature was assembled; when a sergeant of the New South Wales corps was condemned for a forgery, but recommended to the Governor's mercy by the court; another was condemned for a burglary; and a third sentenced to receive a severe corporal punishment, for having shot a native at Botany Bay. Could the evidence of some of these people have been taken, it was supposed that he would have been capitally convicted; in which case he would certainly have suffered, the Governor having determined to put that article of His Majesty's instructions in force, which, in placing these people under the protection of the British Government, enjoined the punishing of any injury done to their persons or property. When the culprit was brought out to be punished, several of the natives attended; and he received in their presence as much of his sentence as he could bear, they witnessing his sufferings with the most perfect indifference.

The weather was exceedingly hot during the whole of January.



On the 8th of February, a prisoner who had been condemned to die by the last court suffered the sentence of the law. The recollections of his untimely end, and his admonitions from the fatal tree, could not have departed from the minds of those who saw and heard him, when another court sent another offender to make the same atonement for his numerous crimes. Indeed, the journal of this month would furnish little else than a catalogue of executions, robberies, and instances of depravity; among which was the destroying by fire the public gaol at Sydney; nor was any doubt entertained of its having been done through design, though it will be read with horror, that at that time there were confined within its walls twenty prisoners, most of whom were loaded with irons, and who, with much difficulty, were snatched from the flames. Feeling for each other was never imputed to these miscreants; and yet, if several were engaged in the commission of a crime, they have seldom been known to betray their companions in iniquity. But from scenes so disgraceful to human nature the mind feels relieved, even though compelled to turn to those of calamity. Yet, before we proceed, it is but justice to those in power to observe, that, were it not evident that certain punishment awaited the conviction of offenders, it might be supposed that a relaxation of the civil authority had begotten impunity; but far otherwise was the fact: the police was vigilant, the magistrates active, and the Governor ever anxious to support them, with incessant diligence endeavoured to establish good order and morality in the settlement. But such was the depravity of these people, from the habitual practice of vice, that they were become alike fearless of the punishments of this world, or of that which is to come.

The great drought and excessive heat had affected the water. Such ponds as still retained any were reduced so very low, that most of them were become brackish, and scarcely drinkable. From this circumstance, it was conjectured, that the earth contained a large portion of salt; for the ponds even on the high grounds were not fresh. The woods between Sydney and Parramatta were completely on fire, the trees being burnt to the tops; and every blade of grass was destroyed.

The entrance of March was accompanied by two or three days' rain, which greatly refreshed the gardens that were almost wholly burnt up, and everywhere revived the perishing vegetation. At the Hawkesbury, however, an accident occurred, which, although not so ruinous to the colony at large



as the drought, proved most destructive to the settlers in that district. This river suddenly, and in the course of a very few hours, swelled to the height of fifty feet above its common level, and with such rapidity and power as to carry everything before it. The government-house, which had been erected at the first settling of that part of the country, was swept away, with a quantity of provisions which had been deposited in it. Many of the inhabitants were taken off from the ridges of their houses, by a few boats which they fortunately had among them, just in time to save their lives; for most of the dwellings were inundated, and the whole country appeared like an extensive lake. Many hogs, and other live stock, poultry, with much of the produce of the last unfortunate harvest, and the domestic effects of the people, were hurried away by the torrent. Fortunately, however, only one life was lost.

This was a most serious calamity; and, no cause having appeared to indicate an approaching overflow of the river, the settlers were not prepared for such a disaster. It was said, that the natives foresaw it, and apprised the inhabitants. There could, however, be no doubt, that, unperceived by our people, a heavy fall of rain had taken place in the interior of the country, among the mountains; and which, from the parched state of the land for such a length of time, had in no part been absorbed, but ran down the sides of the hills, as from mountains of solid rock, filling all the low grounds, and branches of the river; which, being in form suddenly serpentine, could not give vent so fast as the waters descended.

In a few days this extraordinary collection of water had found its way to the sea; and, the river regaining its usual level, the settlers set about new cropping their grounds; for which purpose they were supplied with seed wheat on the Government account; their request for bedding and clothing, it was not so easy to comply with, from the poverty of the public stores in these articles.

Among the public works at this time in hand were, the raising of the walls of the new gaol, laying the upper floor of a windmill, and erecting the churches of Sydney and Parramatta. Most of these buildings did not advance so rapidly as the necessity for them required, owing to the weakness of the public gangs; and, indeed, scarcely ever had there been a thorough day's labour obtained from them. They never felt themselves interested in the effect of their work, knowing that the ration from the store, whatever it might be, would be



issued to them, whether they earned it nor not; unlike the labouring man whose subsistence, and that of his family, depend upon his exertions. For the individual who would pay them for their services with spirits, they would labour while they had strength to lift the hoe or the axe; but when Government required the production of that strength, it was not forthcoming; and it was more to be wondered, that under such disadvantages so much, rather than so little, had been done. The convicts whose services belonged to the Crown were, by far the greater part, a worthless dissipated set, who never thought beyond the present moment; and they were forever employed in rendering that moment as easy to themselves as their intention could enable them.

Of the settlers and their disposition, much has been already said. The assistance and encouragement which from time to time were given them, they were not found to deserve. The greater part had originally been convicts; and it is not to be supposed, that while they continued in that state, their habits were much improved. With these habits, then, they became freemen and settlers; the effect of which was, to render them insolent and presuming; and many of them continued a dead weight upon the Government, without reducing the expenses of the colony. These expenses were certainly great, and had been considerably increased. The settlement was at this time much in want of many necessary articles of life; and when these were brought by speculators and traders who occasionally touched there, they demanded more than five hundred per cent. above what the same articles could have been sent out for from England, with every addition of freight, insurance, &c.

It having been for several days reported, that the crews of two boats, which had been permitted to go to Hunter's River, had been cut off by the natives, the Governor ordered his whale-boat to be well armed, and to proceed thither in quest of the boats and their crews; sending in her Henry Hacking, a person on whom he could depend. This man, at his return, informed the Governor, that on his arrival an attempt had been made to burn the smaller boat, which had three men in her, who were each provided with a musket. The boat was there, but the men were not to be found. Going in search of them, he fell in with a large body of natives, all armed. On desiring them to inform him what had become of the white men, they told him that they were gone to Sydney. This, however, did



not satisfy him, as he found that they had taken away the sails of the boat, the men's blankets, and everything that they had with them. He then threatened to kill them if they did not instantly inform him, and presented his musket; at which they laughed, and said, that if he did not go away, and leave them a small boat which he had with him, and the whale-boat, they would destroy every white man there, and poised their spears in a threatening manner. He again levelled his musket, in the hope of alarming them; but they were not so easily frightened, and became more noisy and violent. Finding that an attack was almost certain, he charged his gun with buck-shot, and ordered them to leave the place; but, their clamour increasing, he fired, and four of them fell, one of whom got up again and ran off, the other three remaining upon the ground, probably mortally wounded. The whole disappeared, leaving Hacking to fill his boat and effect his retreat unmolested. The men who had been missing, some time after fortunately reached the settlement.

On the 24th, the "Nautilus" returned from Norfolk Island, and with her came in a Spanish ship, a prize to two whalers, which they had captured off Cape Blanco on the east coast of Peru. A Court of Vice-Admiralty having been assembled, she was condemned as a legal prize, and part of her cargo sold by public auction.

This was a new circumstance in the annals of the settlement, and wore the appearance of rendering it of more consequence than it had hitherto been. Did it not go to prove, that at some future period, in the event of a Dutch war, it might become a place of much importance, by offering a reception to the prizes of our cruizers, a court whereat they could be condemned, and a market for their cargoes?

Two days afterwards the "Norfolk" returned from Norfolk Island, bringing a confirmation of the entire failure of the maize harvest.

Every year's experience proved, that that island never would be of the utility which might be expected from the very great expense that was incurred on its account. It was probable, that this expense had not been adverted to in England; for all the bills drawn there were sent to New South Wales to be consolidated into bills upon the treasury; by which means the expenses of the principal settlement appeared to be far more considerable than in fact they were. The boast of its containing timber, and flax fit for naval purposes, sufficient to construct and equip a navy, falls to the ground, when it is



considered that the whole island does not contain a single harbour, cove, or inlet, fit to shelter a boat, much less a ship; but that it is surrounded by a dangerous coral reef, which has proved the loss of one King's ship, and many lives. Besides, the soil of New South Wales produces timber and flax perfectly calculated for all naval purposes, and in sufficient abundance. If an idea may be hazarded, Van Diemen's Island holds out in every respect a more advantageous spot for a settlement, where the inhabitants would have everything that Norfolk Island has to offer, besides the superior benefits of a temperate climate and capacious harbour.

In addition to the advantages likely to be obtained in New South Wales by the culture of the flax plant, the breed of sheep had been considerably improved, by crossing the small Bengal with the larger Cape sheep. The fleece produced from this mixture was excellent; and a specimen of woollen cloth fabricated of it was sent to England. One end of a web of linen, woven from the wild flax of the country, was crossed with a thread spun from the bark of a tree; and a web from that bark was crossed, in the specimen sent home, by a thread of wool. All these were made under many difficulties; but they answered the purpose of showing what might be done, with proper tools, at a future period. There was not any doubt, but that the flax plant would considerably improve by cultivation; and the manufacture of woollens promised to be of great benefit to the settlement, whenever a sufficiency of the raw materials should be collected.

The discovery of the vast strata of coal must be reckoned among the new lights thrown upon the resources of the colony. The facility that this presents in working the iron ore with which the settlement abounded, must prove of infinite utility if a dockyard should ever be established there.

On the 3rd of May His Majesty's ship "Buffalo" arrived from England; but last from the Cape of Good Hope, whence she brought sixty-six head of cattle. She had also on board some tools and articles of hardware for the use of the Colony; but, unfortunately, no bedding or clothing of any kind.

The natives, ever hostile to the settlers, had lately killed one of them: these natives belonged to the tribe of which Pe-mul-wy was the leader.

Savage as these beings were toward the white people, and to each other, yet they could unbend, and divert themselves with the softer amusements of singing and dancing.



It might be supposed, that with this exercise, and the company of their females, their angry and turbulent passions would be at rest, and the idea of murder could not enter their minds; yet have they been often known to start away, in search of some unsuspecting object of their hatred, who, before the morning, has received a dozen spears through his body: and this is man in his uncultivated state!

The weather nearly throughout the month of June had been extremely tempestuous, blowing a heavy gale from the southward, attended with a deluge of rain. The ravages of this storm were so great, that the settlement was thrown back a full twelvemonth in those works which at that time were expected very shortly to be completed. The weather had never, from the establishment of the colony, been observed to be so severe. The settlement had, indeed, between the fires of the summer, and the floods and gales of the winter, suffered very considerably. Added to these, at this time, were the inconveniences arising from an unproductive harvest, from an exhausted store in the very essential articles of clothing and bedding, from the hostile disposition of many of the natives, and from the annihilation of morality, honesty, and industry, in the major part of the colonists.

As this picture is not exaggerated, the situation and feelings of the rational part of the settlement were certainly not to be envied.

Every exertion was immediately made to remedy the misfortunes occasioned by the late tempestuous weather. The erecting of a stone prison at Sydney being found to create much expense, as well as to require much time, the Governor called a meeting of the officers, principal inhabitants, and landholders, and proposed an assessment to be furnished by each, as well of money as of labour; which was readily agreed to on their part: and that necessary building was thenceforth carried on at their expense, the public stores only furnishing such iron as might be requisite.

On the 29th, the ship "Albion" anchored in the cove from England after a passage of only three months and fifteen days, the shortest ever yet made to that country. Mr. Ebor Bunker, who had been at Port Jackson before in the "William and Ann" transport, commanded the "Albion," and was now selected by her owners, Messrs. Champions, to give the whale-fishing upon the coast a complete and fair trial. For this purpose, the ship was fitted out, with the accustomed liberality



of those gentlemen, in the amplest manner, with every store that could be necessary for her own use, and every comfort for her people.

Fortunate would it have proved for the settlement in general, had these and such respectable gentlemen been among the first of those whose speculative views had induced them to embark their property in these undertakings: it would then have escaped the extortions which had been but too successfully practised by many others.

The month of July commenced with a most horrid murder, which was committed upon Mr. Samuel Clode, one of the missionaries, who had fled for refuge from the savages of Otaheite, to the less tolerable, because better instructed, civilized savages of Sydney. This act of more than savage barbarity was committed at the brickfields, in the house of a soldier. His brains were beaten out at the back of his head, with an axe, and his throat so cut as nearly to sever the head from the body, which was then thrown into a saw-pit. It was discovered by a man who had been in the habit of concealing his hoe in the same place: such are the directions of Providence!

The Criminal Court being convened, two men and one woman were on the clearest evidence convicted of the murder, and adjudged to suffer death.

It appeared upon the trial, that the trifling sum of ten pounds, which one of the men, a soldier, had been indebted to Mr. Clode, prompted him to his destruction. To effect this, he signified to the unfortunate gentleman, that if he would call at his hut in the evening he would pay him. He called accordingly; and while leaning over a table to draw up a receipt, received the first blow with the axe, from the hand of Thomas Jones, the soldier; Albury, the other man, who it had been agreed upon should give it, having failed in his resolution at the moment when he was expected to prove it.

Being convicted on the 4th, they were executed on the 6th, upon the spot where the murder had been committed. The house was pulled down and burnt; and the bodies of the two men were hung in chains near the place. That of the woman was delivered to the surgeon for dissection.

On the 26th of July the "Hillsborough" transport arrived from England, whence she had sailed with three hundred male convicts on board; but from the raging of a gaol fever, that made its appearance soon after her departure, ninety-five had



died during the voyage, and six more were added to the number in a few days after they were landed.

It was impossible that any ship could have been better fitted by Government for the accommodation of prisoners, during such a voyage, than was the "Hillsborough"; but, unfortunately, they brought with them, perhaps lurking in their clothing, a disease which bade defiance to all the measures that could be taken for their comfort and convenience.

The hospitals were immediately filled with the survivors, from whom no labour could, for a length of time, be expected; and they were supplied with fresh meat.

Governor Hunter, in the beginning of August, spent some days in an excursion from Prospect Hill to the settlement which he had established on the banks of George's River. Having before examined the country between Parramatta and the river, he now traced it in another direction, and had the gratification of finding it equally favourable to cultivation with what he had before observed. The distance from the hill was about five miles, over excellent ground, well adapted both for cultivation and pasturage, and equal to any on the banks of the Nile of New South Wales. The settlers, whom he had placed there, were all doing well, had not any complaints to make, and had not been molested for some time by the natives. On quitting them, he proceeded down the river to Botany Bay, and thence walked overland to Sydney; between which places there was nothing but barren and uneven ground, but everywhere covered with the most beautiful flowering heath.

Shortly after his return, the "Norfolk" sloop came in from the northward, having been absent about six weeks upon a particular service; the following account of which is taken from the journal of Lieutenant Flinders, which he delivered to the Governor after his arrival.

The Governor being very desirous of gaining some information respecting the coast to the northward of Port Jackson, particularly of two large openings marked by Captain Cook, the "Norfolk" sloop was manned with volunteers from the two King's ships; and Lieutenant Flinders was accompanied by Bong-ree, a native of the north side of Broken Bay, who had been noted for his good disposition, and open and manly conduct. On this service they had sailed on the 8th of the preceding month.

At half-past seven in the morning of Sunday the 9th they sounded; but without finding ground with fifteen fathoms of



line, at the distance of half a mile from a small reef of black rocks, which ran off from a sugar-loaf point. There were two very low, and therefore dangerous rocks, lying at S.  $20^{\circ}$  E. three or four miles, and S.E. about two miles from this point. These rocks require to be particularly guarded against by any vessel coming near the land.

Sounding with ten fathoms of line at half a mile distance from the shore off Cape Hawke, they got ground. The two hills here mentioned by Captain Cook were found to stand upon the pitch of the Cape, and were covered with brush down to the low cliffs. The strata in these cliffs lay forty or fifty degrees from the horizontal line. From the Cape the coast falls back, forming a kind of double bay. The land was low, and rose, but very gradually, ridge over ridge inland to a moderate height, the country looking pleasant enough from the sea; but the trees appeared small, and mixed with brushwood.

On the morning of the 10th it was discovered that the sloop had unfortunately sprung a very bad leak, which admitted so much water as kept one pump constantly at work, this was a serious cause of alarm; and the maize with which the sloop had been before loaded was continually choking up the pump.

After passing the Solitary Isles, which Mr. Flinders thought might, with equal propriety, be termed the Miserable, from their sterile and uninviting appearance, they anchored in Shoal Bay, in two and a half fathoms water, on a hard sandy bottom.

On examining this bay in his boat, he found it to be very shallow. Having returned to the sloop about noon, he landed on the south head for the purpose of observing for the latitude. The meridional altitude of the sun gave  $29^{\circ} 26' 28''$  S. for the latitude of the entrance into the bay.

Nothing here appearing to merit more than a superficial examination, Mr. Flinders did not think it worth consuming much of his time, and therefore got under way on the afternoon of the 12th.

On the 15th, they were 13 miles distant from Cape Byron; and at the same time the peak of Mount Warning was just appearing over it. Having hauled more off, to avoid the reef lying off Point Danger, on the following morning they found themselves at a considerable distance from the land. They now steered west for a large space, where no land was visible, and, perceiving breakers off the south point of the opening, were satisfied that this was Moreton Bay. Passing between



these breakers and Point Lookout, they got ground in twenty fathoms water. As they drew nearer, there appeared to be a very large extent of water within the opening. The country to the seaward was wretchedly sandy. At dusk, Cape Moreton bore west, distant two or three miles; and the highest glass-house, whose peak was just presenting itself over the distant land, had opened round it at W.  $3^{\circ}$  or  $4^{\circ}$  N. Two hummocks, resembling hay-cocks, distinct from any other land, opened soon after a few degrees to the southward.

The vessel was now hauled in round Cape Moreton, to go into Glass-House Bay. While ranging within a mile of the shore, ten natives were counted, half of whom were probably women, from their keeping behind the others. The men made many antic gestures. One had a green branch in his hand, which he waved to and fro at the extent of his arm, from the ground on one side of him to that on the other; and some of them would run into the water occasionally and beat the surf with sticks. They appeared to be friendly, using nearly the same word in calling our people that would have been made use of by a Port Jackson native, and seemed desirous that they should proceed up the bay.

At eight in the evening they anchored about two miles from a low sandy shore on the west side of the bay.

The next morning Mr. Flinders went in his boat toward the opening, taking Bong-ree, the native, with him. As they approached the sandy point, some dogs came down upon the beach; and soon after several natives made their appearance, most of them carrying fishing-nets over their shoulders. They lay upon their oars for some time, conversing with them by signs, and repeating the words which they had made use of. As they seemed to be friendly, Bong-ree wished to make them a visit; and, seeing nothing among them but the pieces of fire-wood which the natives usually carry with them, he jumped on shore, naked, and as unarmed as they themselves appeared.

He quickly made an exchange with the yarn-belt from his waist, for a fillet made of kangaroo hair. The muskets were kept at hand in the boat, to be prepared against any treachery; but everything seeming to go on well, the natives appearing rather shy than otherwise, Mr. Flinders joined his companion, taking his gun with him. By making friendly signs, laying down the gun, and offering them a woollen cap, he was suffered to approach, and one took the cap; but when Mr. Flinders made signs that he expected to have his net-bag



in return, he gave him to understand that he must first give him his hat. This hat was made of the white filaments of the cabbage-tree, and seemed to excite the attention and wishes of the whole party.

As the hat was not given to him, he came forward, first throwing the cap that he had received upon the bank behind him, to secure it, and seemed very anxious for either the hat or gun, or both. Everything, however, was carried on very amicably; and Mr. Flinders, with his native, retreated slowly toward the boat; but turned again, upon finding that they pressed close after them. One of them, then, laughing, and talking at the same time to Mr. Flinders, attempted to take the hat off his head with a long hooked stick; which, on his discovering, created a laugh. Behind him another was stretching out a long arm to the same object, but was fearful of coming near enough to reach it.

On our people getting into the boat, and shoving her off into deep water, they did not seem pleased, but tried to persuade them to land again. Finding that they could not succeed, one of them threw his piece of fire-wood at them; but it falling short, the matter was treated as a joke, and laughed at. On this another ran into the water, and threw his also; but it likewise fell short: he then took the hooked stick, and slipping off the hook, which, it seems, was only lashed or tied on, produced a spear, with which he ran up to the middle in water, and threw at them by hand. It passed over the centre of the boat, about a foot and a half above the gunwale, but touched no one. After this impudent and unprovoked attack, Mr. Flinders snapped his gun at the man who had thrown the spear; but the flint having received some wet it missed fire. He tried again; the gun again missed fire.

While this was transacting, the major part of the natives were observing Mr. Flinders with much concern. On a third trial the gun went off. The man in the water fell flat, as did every individual among them; but those on the shore ran off almost instantaneously, and scrambled away towards the bank, some upright, and some upon their hands and feet. One of the people in the boat then fired among them, and they fell again upon their faces; but very soon rose and fled behind the bank into the wood. Even the man in the water rose and made off, but so slowly, stooping very much, and holding one hand to his back, that it was concluded that he had been wounded; and he looked every now and then over his shoulder, as if



expecting to see the spear that he supposed must be sticking in his back. According to Bong-ree's account, another native had his arm broken by the second shot.

As this wanton attack had unfortunately obliged the party to fire upon these people, in order to maintain that superiority which they meant upon all occasions to assert, Mr. Flinders thought it might be the means of preventing much future mischief, to give them a more extensive idea of his power, and thereby deter them from any future attempt in his intercourse with them. For as this bay was to be examined, and the leak which the sloop had sprung was to be stopped there, it became more than probable that they would often meet; and he was well satisfied of the great influence which the awe of a superior power has in savages to create respect, and render their communications friendly.

In this view, with two musket balls in his gun, he fired at a man who was looking at them from among the trees. One of these balls touched the edge of the bank in a right line for him; the other passed over. They afterwards landed, intending to bring away the nets, which it was supposed they had in their flight and alarm forgotten. On going up the bank, previously to ascertain the position of the enemy, he saw several of them running different ways among the trees, apparently with a design of coming round upon them; and, not knowing their force or numbers, Mr. Flinders directed the native and a man who had also landed to return to the boat; but Bong-ree thought that they were running to conceal themselves. They had not left their nets.

From the low sandy point where this affair happened, and which obtained the name of Point Skirmish, they proceeded up the opening, which proved to be the river leading to the Glass-House peaks. These peaks stood upon the low flat ground, considerably within the mountains, and, as far as could be judged, had every appearance of being volcanic. That they were so, indeed, was in some measure corroborated by the quantity of pumice-stone which was lying at high-water mark upon the eastern shore of the river, on which Mr. Flinders had landed to mark the nature and appearance of the country, not being able, from the strength of the ebb-tide, to proceed far in his boat.

Five or six huts, from twelve to fifteen feet in length, were seen standing near each other. They resembled a covered arch-way, rounded at the far end. In one of them was found



a small and very light shield, and in another an old net, which had a bag to it, and was knotted and made in the same way as it would have been if made by a European seine-maker. It appeared to be intended for a scoop-net. There were marks of a large kangaroo having passed, and many traces of dogs were visible on the beach.

Mr. Flinders, on his return to the sloop, was informed that the leak had been found to have been occasioned by the starting of a plank from the timber, about three or four streaks from the keel. It had been filled up with oakum, since which she made but little water, lying at anchor.

From the situation in which the sloop lay, the bay had not any appearance of closing round, but seemed to promise a large river at its head, and a communication with Moreton Bay, if not something more interesting.

At three in the afternoon they got under weigh to proceed up this river, standing to the southward until dark, at which time they anchored, about three miles from the western shore, in five fathoms, on a soft muddy bottom; whereas the ground before had always been sandy.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

At daylight in the morning of Wednesday the 17th, the sloop was got under weigh, and anchored about half past ten o'clock, a mile and a half from a point with red cliffs. A little to the westward of Red Cliff Point, Mr. Flinders found the latitude to be  $27^{\circ} 16' 25''$  south. The rocks here were of stone, strongly impregnated with iron, having some small pieces of granite and crystals scattered about the shore.

On the following morning they passed two islands, and afterwards two smaller, one of which was covered with wood. Another island, apparently larger than either of the four above mentioned, appeared at the distance of about five miles. Reckoning the northernmost of these four islands to be the first in number, they made their course good for the third island, after tacking; and the water deepened almost immediately to six fathoms.

At this time their attention was much attracted by a party of natives from these islands, who appeared to be standing up in their canoes, and pulling toward them with all their strength, and in very regular order. They seemed to have long poles or spears in their hands, with which also they appeared to be paddling; the whole of them shifting their hands at the same instant, after the manner of the South-sea islanders. As about twenty of them were counted, and seemed to be coming on with much resolution, our people prepared for whatever might be the event. The sloop was put under easy sail, her decks cleared of every incumbrance, and each man was provided with a competent number of musket balls, pistol-balls, and buck-shot, which were to be used as the distance might require; for it was intended that not a man should escape if they commenced an attack.

Thus prepared, they bore toward them, finding that with all their exertions they did not approach much nearer to the vessel. But, how great was their surprise on discovering, that, instead of advancing in canoes to attack them, they were standing upon a large flat, that surrounded the third island, driving fish into their nets, and that they had but two canoes



among them! They were standing in a line, splashing in the water with long sticks, first for some time on one side, and then all shifting to splash on the other. Thus this hostile array turned out to be a few peaceable fishermen: peaceable indeed; for on the approach of the vessel they sunk their canoes upon the flat, and retreated to the island, where they made their fires.

The flood-tide having ceased to run, they anchored at noon, and by the sun's meridional altitude, in  $27^{\circ} 27' 16''$  south latitude. The third island, on which the natives were, bore W.  $4^{\circ}$  S. one and a half or two miles distant, and the centres of the two northern ones N.  $40^{\circ}$  and N.  $15^{\circ}$  W. The entrance from Moreton Bay bearing N.  $68^{\circ}$  E. from this anchorage, corroborated its latitude by the observation of the 14th, which was taken on the sea side of it, although it differed considerably from that given by Captain Cook.

On the sloop standing near the south part of the shoal that appeared to surround the island to which the natives had retired, one of them came down abreast of the vessel, making the same gestures, and running backwards and forwards, as others had done before; but little attention was paid to him, Mr. Flinders being more intent on getting as far up the bay as possible while the tide favoured him.

Early the next morning (Sunday the 21st), Mr. Flinders went in his boat to examine Pumice Stone river, and the entrance into it. On approaching Point Skirmish, five or six natives came down to the boat unarmed, and, by friendly gestures and offers of their girdles and small nets, endeavoured to persuade him to land. He could not satisfy himself whether they had any treacherous design in this, or whether their presenting themselves unarmed proceeded from any confidence which they might have felt, that neither himself nor his people would hurt them if they were not the aggressors. In this point of view the offer of their girdles and nets might have meant as an atonement for their former conduct; he did not, however, choose to trust them, but proceeded to examine the river.

When they had nearly reached the end of their excursion, two natives came down to the beach, and seemed desirous for them to land. There being a dry sand at a sufficient distance to be out of the reach of spears, they put ashore upon it. On Mr. Flinders taking up his gun to fire at two red-bills, the natives ran into the woods; but on Bong-ree's advancing that



way they returned, and he made a friendly exchange for their hair fillets and belts, giving them a white woollen cap in return, and came to the boat for a piece of white cloth and some biscuit for them. During this time Mr. Flinders was on shore upon the sand bank with a gun, to cover him in case their behaviour should be unfriendly. On his advancing toward them, they were very vociferous for him to remain at a distance, and would on no account admit of his approaching without laying down his gun. This place was about six miles from Point Skirmish; but it was evident that the fame and dread of their fire-arms had reached thus far, and were most probably increased by the shooting of the swans, which they must have witnessed.

In their return down the river, they were called to by a man on the west side, who had a spear in his hand; but two women and several children being behind argued rather against any premeditated hostility. The women and children retired on their approaching the shore; but they were observed to be peeping at them from behind the bushes. This man made great exclamations for the musket to be laid down, calling out "woo-rah, woo-rah," as others had done, and seemed pleased when it was complied with; but he could not have heard many particulars of their weapons; for, on pointing a musket toward him to try the experiment, he did not appear to be sensible of the danger to himself in that case. As he did not choose to quit his spear, and the sun was descending, they did not land, but backed in near enough to throw him a yarn stocking, which they showed him was worn as a cap with a tail to it, and then parted good friends.

Monday the 22nd was passed in getting the sloop into the river, which with some difficulty was accomplished, having to find out a channel through an infinity of shoals. Having completely stopped the leak in his vessel and re-stowed her, he lost no time in prosecuting his intended excursion to the Glass-House Peaks. Previous to their departure, three natives made their appearance upon the beach, a short distance below the vessel, and unarmed as before. Bong-ree went up to them in his usual undaunted manner; but they would not suffer Mr. Flinders or any of his party to approach them, without first laying down their muskets. Presents were made them of yarn caps, pork, and biscuit, all of which they eagerly took, and made signs for Bong-ree to go with them, and they would



give him girdles and fillets, to bind round his head and the upper parts of his arms. So long as their visitors consisted only of two, the natives were lively, dancing and singing in concert in a very pleasing manner; but the number of white men having imperceptibly increased to eight, they became alarmed and suspicious, seeming to look with a jealous eye upon a shot-belt that Mr. Flinders wore, and which, though they did not rightly know how, might some way or other be a deadly weapon.

Observing this, he gave it to one of the people to take away. Three of the sailors, who were Scotchmen, were desired to dance a reel; but, for want of music, they made a very bad performance, which was contemplated by the natives without much amusement or curiosity. Finding that they could not be persuaded to visit the sloop, our people parted from them in a very friendly manner.

On the 25th they turned two or three miles further up the river, and anchored near the place on the western shore, where the man who had a family with him had called to them: at this time they saw a fire, and heard several younger female voices in the same place.

On the following morning Mr. Flinders took the boat up a branch that pointed towards the Peaks, and got a sight of the flat-topped peak at times, which, appearing to be considerably nearer than the highest Glass-House, was that which he meant first to visit; but, observing that one of the round mounts with sloping sides was still nearer, he altered his course for it; and, after walking about nine miles from the boat, reached the top. The mount was a pile of stones of all sizes, mostly loose near the surface. The decayed vegetable matter that was lodged in the cavities produced a thick covering of long, but rather spindly grass, very fit for thatch from its length. The ascent was difficult, and similar to that up Mount Direction, which stands on the east bank of the Derwent river in Van Diemen's Land. The trees upon the mount were the same as on the level ground, but taller and more straight.

From the summit of this mount, the view of the Bay and neighbouring country was very extensive. The uppermost part of the bay appeared at S. 24° E. and most probably communicated with a line of water which was visible at S. 12° E. where there were several distinct columns of smoke. This last bearing, which Mr. Flinders apprehended to be near the head



of the river, he was not permitted to enter with the sloop, from the intricacy of the channel, and the shortness of the time which remained for his excursion.

At seven the next morning they found themselves under the steep cliffs of the flat-topped peak. The stone of which this was composed was of a whitish cast, close-grained and hard, but not heavy. It was not stratified, but there were many fissures in it. At a little distance from the peak there were some pieces of reddish-coloured stone and some small pieces of granite scattered about.

Mr. Flinders was somewhat surprised at not meeting with any volcanic appearances, as the pumice stone in the river, and the situation of those stupendous peaks, standing upon low flat ground, had led him to form some anxious expectations on that head. But it must be observed, that, although he could not distinguish any traces of scoria, lava, basalts, or other igneous remains, yet they might still exist, more especially about the high Glass-house, which he did not visit.

As the steepness of its sides forbade all idea of reaching the summit of the flat-topped peak, he directed his course to the river. The traces of men or animals were but very few, and had been but rarely met with in the upper parts of this excursion; and nowhere did he meet with any land that was calculated for the production of wheat.

Having reached the sloop in the evening, the following morning they got under weigh. There were many natives on the shore abreast of them, who seemed particularly anxious to be visited, dancing and singing to attract attention, and express their own good-will; and, when they could not prevail upon our people to land, they followed the sloop along the banks, their hopes seeming to revive by the trips which in tacking they occasionally made towards the shore.

Not being able to get out of the river in one tide, they anchored about a mile short of the entrance, to cut some fire-wood. There was a house and several natives near the place, with whom Bong-ree was in conversation when the tree fell; the crash and report of which startled them a good deal, and might probably assist in giving them a higher idea of the power of their visitors. These people were still very averse from the appearance or approach of a musket, keeping a watchful eye upon their slightest movement.



The gallant and unsuspecting native, Bong-ree, made them a present of one of his spears, and a throwing-stick, of which he showed them the use, for they appeared to be wholly ignorant of the latter; and their weapons of the former kind were inferior to his.

Very bad weather detained Mr. Flinders here for two days, during which they were occasionally visited by the natives, who came down upon both sides of the river, and entertained them with singing and dancing. Not a spear was at any time to be seen among them.

A party who went to the eastern shore to procure fire-wood, and to comply with the desire which the natives had so often expressed of seeing them land among them, found them still timorous; but, on being encouraged and requested by signs to sing, they began a song in concert, which actually was musical and pleasing, and not merely in the diatonic scale, descending by thirds, as at Port Jackson: the descent of this was waving, in rather a melancholy soothing strain. The song of Bong-ree, which he gave them at the conclusion of theirs, sounded barbarous and grating to the ear; but Bong-ree was an indifferent songster, even among his own countrymen.

These people, like the natives of Port Jackson, having fallen to the low pitch of their voices, recommenced their song at the octave, which was accompanied by slow and not ungraceful motions of the body and limbs, their hands being held up in a supplicating posture; and the tone and manner of their song and gestures seemed to bespeak the good-will and forbearance of their auditors. Observing that they were attentively listened to, they each selected one of our people, and placed his mouth close to his ear, as if to produce a greater effect, or, it might be, to teach them the song, which their silent attention might seem to express a desire to learn. As a recompense for the amusement they had afforded, Mr. Flinders gave them some worsted caps, and a pair of blanket trousers, with which they seemed well pleased. Several other natives now made their appearance; and it was some time before they could overcome their dread of approaching the strangers with their fire-arms; but, encouraged by the three who were with them, they came up, and a general song and dance was commenced. Their singing was not confined to one air; they gave three.



Of those who last came, three were remarkable for the largeness of their heads; and one, whose face was very rough, had much more the appearance of a baboon than of a human being. He was covered with oily soot; his hair matted with filth; his visage, even among his fellows, uncommonly ferocious; and his very large mouth, beset with teeth of every hue between black, white, green, and yellow, sometimes presented a smile which might make anyone shudder.

When these people joined the party, the strangers were shown, and their names severally told to them, until they had gotten the pronounciation. This ceremony was reciprocal, and accorded with what Captain Cook had said before of an inhabitant of Endeavour River. "He introduced the strangers by name, a ceremony which upon such occasions was never omitted." The difference of latitude between these two places is  $11^{\circ} 39'$ , or seven hundred miles.

With regard to the comparative size of these people, they were evidently somewhat lower than the common standard of Englishmen, and perhaps smaller in every respect, except in the disproportionate size of the head; and indeed this was not general. In the features of the face, particularly in the elongation of the lower ones, in the small calf to the leg, and the curve of the thigh, they bore a general resemblance to the natives of Port Jackson.

A hawk presenting himself, Mr. Flinders thought it a good opportunity of showing his new friends a specimen of the effect and certainty of his fire-arms. He made them comprehend what was intended, when their agitation was so great that they seemed on the point of running into the woods: however, an expedient to detain them was devised; the seamen placed them in a cluster behind themselves, and in this situation they anxiously saw Mr. Flinders fire at the bird. What must have been his sensations at this moment! the hawk flew away. This disappointment brought to his recollection how ineffectual had been some former attempts of his to impress them with an idea of superior refinement of his followers. Bong-ree, his musician, had annoyed his auditors with his barbarous sounds; and the clumsy exhibition of his Scotch dancers had been viewed by them without wonder or gratification.

It is almost unnecessary to say that these people go naked. They, however, wore belts round their waist, and fillets about



the head and upper parts of the arms. These were formed of hair, twisted into yarn-like threads, and then into bandages, mostly reticulated. Indeed, the inhabitants of this bay appeared to possess, in general, a very pointed difference from if not a superiority over, those of New South Wales, particularly in their net-works. There was no doubt but they were provided with nets for catching very large fish, or animals; as the fragments of one were picked up, the meshes of which were wide enough to admit the escape of a moderate-sized porpoise; and the line of which it was made was from three quarters to an inch in circumference.

Mr. Flinders was of opinion, that this mode of procuring their food would cause a characteristic difference between the manners, and perhaps the dispositions of these people, and of those who mostly depend upon the spear or fiz-gig for a supply. In the one case, there must necessarily be the co-operation of two or more individuals, who therefore, from mutual necessity, would associate together. It is fair to suppose, that this association would, in the course of a few generations, if not much sooner, produce a favourable change in the manners and dispositions even of a savage. In the other case, the native who depends upon his fizgig or his spear for his support, depends upon his single arm, and, requiring not the aid of society, is indifferent about it, but prowls along, a gloomy, unsettled, and unsocial being. An inhabitant of Port Jackson is seldom seen, even in the populous town of Sydney, without his spear, his throwing-stick, or his club. His spear is his defence against enemies. It is the weapon which he uses to punish aggression and revenge insult. It is even the instrument with which he corrects his wife in the last extreme; for in their passion, or perhaps oftener in a fit of jealousy, they scruple not to inflict death. It is the plaything of children, and in the hands of persons of all ages. It is easily to perceive what effect this must have on their minds. They become familiarised to wounds, blood, and death; and, repeatedly involved in skirmishes and dangers, the native fears not death in his own person, and is consequently careless of inflicting it on others.

The net also appearing to be a more certain source of food than the spear, change of place will be less necessary. The incumbrance too of carrying large nets from one place to another will require a more permanent residence; and hence



it would naturally follow, that their houses would be of a better construction. Those which had been met with in Shoal Bay and Glass-House Bay were certainly far superior to any that had been seen in the neighbourhood of Port Jackson; and this superiority Mr. Flinders attributed to the different mode of procuring fish which had been adopted by the inhabitants.

During the time the sloop remained in Glass-House Bay they scarcely saw any of the women.

Of their canoes but little could be reported, the only one that Mr. Flinders had an opportunity of observing was formed of the stringy bark, and was much larger than any used at Port Jackson. The ends of it were tied up in the same manner; but it was misshapen and clumsy. Not any of the natives ever attempted to approach the sloop in canoes, although at times eight or ten were seen standing together, who appeared very desirous of having a communication with it.

On Wednesday, the 31st, they got under weigh with the weather tide, and beat out of the river. Having passed fifteen days in Glass-House Bay, Mr. Flinders was enabled to form his judgment of it. It was so full of shoals, that he could not attempt to point out any passage that would lead a ship into it without danger. The east side of the bay had not been sounded; if any existed, it would probably be found on that side.

Mr. Flinders's next place of destination was Hervey's Bay, which he reached in two days, and where he remained till the 7th; during which time he had sailed round the interior of it, but without being able to enter any opening that might have led him to a river.

Having cleared the point of Break-sea Spit, on Thursday the 18th he proceeded on his return to Port Jackson. Passing the land between Smoky Cape and the Solitary Isles in the day, which had before been passed in the night, he observed that it seemed to be higher than most parts of its coast in the neighbourhood, Mount Warning excepted; and even there it was not so high near the shore. The view that Mr. Flinders had of the land at sun-set, when Smoky Cape bore S. 25° W. distant five or six leagues, induced him to think it probable that there might be an opening to the northward of it.

In the afternoon of the 18th, there being but little wind, and the weather fine, they were attended by several very large



spermaceti whales. These were not more than twice the sloop's length from her, coming upon either side, at times very near her, and remained playing, or perhaps feeding in this way, for more than two hours.

Their appearance was followed in the evening by a gale from the S.W. which reduced them to their storm sails, and compelled them to keep off and on during the night. The wind, however, moderating the next day, Mr. Flinders concluded his labours at dusk in the evening of the 20th; at which time he secured his little vessel alongside His Majesty's ship the "Reliance" in Port Jackson.

We must here take leave of Captain Flinders, whose skill in exploring unknown coasts and harbours, so amply manifested in this excursion, creates an additional interest in the success of his present undertaking.

The convicts brought out by the "Hillsborough" being mostly recovered from the disease and weakness with which they landed, some additional strength was gained to the public gangs; and the different works in hand went on with more spirit than they had done for some time past. In addition to the battery which, under the direction of Lieutenant Kent, had been constructed by the seamen of the "Supply" on the east point of the cove, the work on Point Maskelyne had been raised and completed with embrasures. Some guns were placed in a commanding situation above the wind-mill on the west side; and a work had been erected upon Garden Island; so that, in point of defence, the settlement wore a respectable appearance. The weather had for some time been moderate and temperate.

On the 24th of September the Governor set off on a visit to the wild cattle. Leaving Parramatta on the 24th, he crossed the Nepean the following day, but much further to the northward than he had done before. In this direction he and his party traversed a new tract of country, which was not only beautiful to the eye but highly calculated for cultivation and pasturage.

On their arrival at the Cow-pasture Plains, they fell in with a herd of the cattle, about twenty in number, and so extremely fierce, that, had it not been for the dogs which were with them, they would probably have been attacked. Some natives, who had accompanied the Governor, were so alarmed, that they availed themselves of their expertness in climbing trees, and



left their friends to provide for their own safety how they could. These dogs having been hunted at the cattle, much against the Governor's wish, by some of the party (who did it, as not thinking their situation perfectly safe), the animals were dismayed at the unusual appearance and went off; but a bull calf, about six weeks old, was detained by the dogs. Him the Governor directed to be let instantly loose; but here a strange circumstance occurred. There were three horses with the party, and the calf would not quit them; but running between their legs, cried out for the flock, which, from his bellowing, there was reason to apprehend would return, to the great danger of the party. One of the gentlemen was therefore obliged to stop his cries by shooting him through the head; and the whole regaled upon veal, a rare dish in that country.

On quitting the Cow-pasture Plains, the party crossed the river again, higher up than they had formerly done; and were led for about four miles over a mountainous country, but adapted either for tillage or pasture. They then crossed a fine tract of level land, rich in the most luxuriant grass, and uncommonly well watered, chains of ponds being found every two or three miles.

On the 2nd of November, His Majesty's ship the "Reliance" sailed with the relief of the military on duty at Norfolk Island; and on the following day the ship "Walker" arrived from England. On board her came Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, and Captain Abbot of the New South Wales corps.

Dispatches were at this time received; whereby the Governor being directed to cause a register to be kept of all ships entering inwards and clearing outwards of the harbour, he appointed Richard Atkins, Esq., to that service; and it became an article in the port orders which were delivered to the masters of ships upon their arrival, that they were not upon any account to break bulk, or attempt to land any article whatever, until an account of the ship, her commander, and cargo had been laid before the Governor. It was at the same time signified, that no boat, or any person whomsoever, except the pilot, such officer as might be sent by the Governor, and the person appointed to fill up the register, should ever board strange ships entering the port, until the above information had been regularly and fully obtained. It was conjectured, that this measure of registering ships was preparatory to the establishment of duties and a custom-house.



By the "Walker" four iron twelve-pounders were received, and information that copper coin to the amount of £550 was in the "Porpoise," whose arrival might be daily looked for. This would certainly have been a most comfortable accommodation to the people in their various dealings with each other; as it might have been marked, to prevent its being taken out of the colony. If it should ever be found convenient by Government to order a silver coinage for the use of the settlement, if it was fixed at not more than half or two-thirds of the intrinsic value of what it might pass for, so as to render the loss considerable to anyone attempting to carry it away, it would be felt as a considerable advantage, and would effectually prevent the forgeries to which a paper currency is liable.

The wheat crops in this month, nearly ready for the reaper, wore the most promising appearance; the stalks everywhere, particularly at the Hawkesbury, bending beneath the weight of the richest ears of corn ever beheld in any country. But, like other countries, a crop was never to be reckoned in this, until it was gathered into the barn. About the middle of the month there fell a very heavy storm of rain and hail from the S.E. that beat all the fruit off the trees, and destroyed the gardens in and about Sydney, doing much damage to the wheat, particularly at the Hawkesbury, where it likewise beat down one end of the public store. This destructive weather, having subsided for a day, recommenced and continued to rage, attended with tremendous peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, for the space of five days without intermission, when it again cleared up; and to increase the vexation, myriads of caterpillars were found destroying the young maize.

That it might be exactly known what was the produce of this year's harvest, proper people were appointed, by order of the Governor, to visit each district; and, from the respective owners, to collect an account of what each farm had produced.

The settlers being dissatisfied with a reduction in the price of grain which had been ordered, presented petitions to the Governor, in which they stated the various hardships that for a considerable time past they had laboured under, in the hope that he might be induced to receive the crops of the present season at the usual price. Having taken their petitions into consideration, he desired them to recollect, that four years since he had given them notice, that the high price of grain



could not be continued longer than that season; and though he had not any doubt of their having sustained the losses which they represented, and they must be sensible that he had used every means in his power to remove and relieve their misfortunes; yet his duty to Government compelled him to adhere to the reduction of which they complained. At the same time, he could not avoid observing, that some of these misfortunes had, in many instances, proceeded from a want of that attention to their own interest, which every man possessing common discretion would have shown; many of them having parted with their last bushel for the gratification of the moment, thereby reducing their families to distress.

He likewise informed them, that Government had a serious intention, as early as the public concerns of the nation would admit, of administering every possible relief, by supplying the inhabitants, at a moderate price, with such necessaries and comforts as they might require.

In the course of December a Spanish ship anchored in the cove. She was a prize to three whalers, who had taken her near Cape Corientes, on the coast of Pera. Her cargo consisted chiefly of bad spirits and wine; which, on her being condemned as a lawful prize, were removed to the "Supply," and an order was given out, strictly forbidding the landing of any spirits, wine, or even malt liquor, until a regular permit had been first obtained.

At length the commissary was enabled to issue some slop clothing to the convicts, a quantity having been received by the "Walker"; but, unfortunately, much of what had been put on board arrived in a very damaged state.

The court of criminal judicature was assembled on the 16th, when a convict was found guilty of forgery, and received sentence of death; but as this had been determined by the majority of one voice only, whereas the letters-patent for establishing the court expressly say, that five of the members are to concur in a capital case, this business was, as provided by the patent, to be referred to the King in council. It is to be hoped that this circumstance will but seldom occur; as the object of it must, during the reference, remain a prisoner, with all the miserable sensations that a person would experience under sentence of death. The time that he must linger in this unfortunate situation could not be well less than fifteen or eighteen months; and admitting that the length of it might



deaden the acuteness of his first sensations, and diminish his fears as to the event, yet how would the horror of his situation be aggravated, should, unhappily for him, the sentence be at last confirmed by the royal approbation!

This month saw a second gaol destroyed by fire. It was the log-gaol at Parramatta. The prisoners confined in it were with difficulty snatched from the flames: but so miserably scorched, that one of them expired after having lingered a few days. No doubt remaining of this being the work of villainy, a large reward was offered for the detection of the unfeeling and depraved perpetrator of so truly diabolical an act, and which had been a second time committed in the same settlement: a circumstance that even staggers credulity. What interest, what motive could impel them to so wicked, and at the same time so useless a proceeding? The destruction of the building, they must conclude, would be instantly followed by the erection of another, at which they themselves must labour! Could it be for the purpose of throwing obstacles in the way of Government? that Government, which had ever been mild and not coercive; which had ever stood forward to alleviate their miseries, and often extended the arm of mercy, when their crimes called aloud for that of punishment; and yet on no other principle can it be accounted for. May the annalist whose business it may be to record in future the transactions of this colony find a pleasanter field to travel in, where his steps will not be every moment beset with murderers, robbers, and incendiaries!

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

The year 1800 commenced with the arrival of the "Swallow," East-India Packet, on her voyage to China. She brought information of the capture of the Dutch fleet in the Texel, and the surrender of the forts upon the Helder. This intelligence was announced to the settlement in a public order, and by a discharge of cannon on the batteries.

In addition to this welcome news, she had on board a great variety of articles for sale, which were intended for the China market, but the master found it worth his while to gratify the inhabitants, particularly the females, with a display of many elegant articles of dress from Bond Street, and other fashionable repositories of the metropolis. After remaining three weeks she departed for China on the 21st. Previous to her sailing, the "Minerva" transport arrived from Ireland, with a very different cargo: instead of elegancies from Bond Street, she brought 162 male and 26 female convicts from the gaols of that kingdom; all of whom were in perfect health, their treatment and management on board doing the highest credit to those who were concerned in the care of them. This vessel, having touched at Rio de Janeiro, had brought many needful articles for sale, as well from that port as from England; but the prices required for them were such as to drain the colony of every shilling that could be scraped together.

With the "Minerva" came the "Fhynne," from Bengal; which had been chartered by the officers of the colony, through the means of an agent. She was freighted on their account with many articles; among which, as more labour could be obtained for spirits than for any other mode of payment, so essential a commodity had not been omitted.

The criminal court about this time was called upon to take cognizance of the murder of two native boys. The business, as it appeared upon the trial, was this:—The natives having, some short time before, murdered two men who possessed farms at the Hawkesbury, some of the settlers in that district determined to revenge their death. There were at this time three native boys living with one Powell, a settler, and two



others his neighbours. These unoffending lads they selected as the objects of their revenge. Having informed them, that they thought they could find the guns belonging to the white men, they were dispatched for that purpose, and in a short time brought them in. Powell and his associates now began their work of vengeance. They drove the boys into a barn; where, after tying their hands behind their backs, these cowardly miscreants repeatedly stabbed them, until two of them fell and died beneath their hands. The third, making his escape, jumped into the river, and, although in swimming he could only make use of his feet, yet under this disadvantage, and with the savage murderers of his companions firing at him repeatedly, he actually reached the opposite bank alive, and soon joined his own people.

The Governor, on being made acquainted with this circumstance, immediately sent to the place, where, buried in a garden, the bodies of these unfortunate boys were found, stabbed in several places, with their hands tied, as has been described. Powell and his companions in this horrid act were taken into custody; and, a court being convened, they were tried for murder; when the court were unanimous of opinion, that they were "guilty of killing two natives;" but instead of their receiving a sentence of death, a special reference was made to His Majesty's minister, and the prisoners were admitted to bail by the court. These, in their defence, brought forward a crowd of witnesses to prove that a number of white people had at various times been killed by the natives; but could these people have been sufficiently understood, proofs would not have been wanting, on their side, of the wanton and barbarous manner in which many of them had been destroyed.

Entertaining doubts as to the light in which the natives were to be held, the court applied to the Governor for such information as he could furnish upon this subject; and he accordingly sent them the orders which from time to time had been given respecting these people, and a copy of an article in His Majesty's instructions to the Governor, which in strong and express terms places them under the protection of the British Government, and directs, that if any of his subjects should wantonly destroy them, or give them unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations, they might be brought to punishment, according to the degree and nature of their offence.



In this instance, however, the court were divided in their sentiments respecting the nature of the offence, and submitted the whole business, with their doubts, to His Majesty's minister. As they could not see their way distinctly, they certainly were right to apply for assistance; but, as it was impossible to explain to the natives, or cause them to comprehend the nature of these doubts, it was to be expected that they would ill brook the return of the prisoners to their farms and occupations, without having received some punishment; a circumstance wholly inconsistent with their own ideas, and entirely at variance with their customs; and, indeed they loudly threatened to burn the crops as soon as it could be effected. Fire, in the hands of a body of irritated and hostile natives, might, with but little trouble to them, ruin the prospect of an abundant harvest; and it appeared by the threat, that they were not ignorant of having this power in their hands; it was, therefore, certainly very essential to the comfort and security of the settlers in particular, that they should live with them upon amicable terms.

There not being at this time more than five months' provisions in the store at full allowance, it became necessary to issue only two-thirds of the weekly ration.

About this time a proof was given of the power of the female sex over their ideal superiors. A quiet well-disposed young man, a soldier in the New South Wales corps, fell a victim to an attachment which he had formed with an infamous woman, a convict, who, after plundering, deserted him for another. The ill-fated youth unable to support what he termed a calamity, placed the muzzle of his gun beneath his chin, and, pulling the trigger with his foot, in one instant rushed into eternity.

On the 13th, the "Betsey" whaler arrived from the west coast of America, with 350 barrels of oil. At the same time came the "Hunter" bark from Calcutta, with a cargo on speculation; and also a Spanish brig which had been captured by the whaler.

On the 16th, the "Friendship" transport arrived from Ireland with convicts, who came in good health; notwithstanding which, they were not calculated to be of much advantage to the settlement; but little addition being gained by their arrival to the public strength. Several of them had been bred up in the habits of genteel life, or to professions in which they



were unaccustomed to hard labour: such must become a dead weight upon the provision store; for, notwithstanding the abhorrence which must have been felt for their crimes, yet it was impossible to divest the mind of the common feelings of humanity, so far as to send a physician, the once-respectable sheriff of a county, a Roman Catholic priest, or a protestant clergyman and his family, to the grubbing hoe, or the timber carriage. Among the lower classes were many old men.

Several of the settlers declining to pay anything towards the building of the new gaol, a tax of one shilling per gallon on whatever spirits each individual might purchase, sixpence on wine, and threepence upon porter or strong beer, was imposed, to be applied to the above purpose.

About this time a bird was taken near Broken Bay, of a species never seen before in New South Wales. It was a large eagle, which gave proof of his strength, by driving its talons through a man's foot, while lying in the bottom of the boat with his legs tied together. It stood about three feet in height, and during the ten days that it was a prisoner, was remarkable for refusing to be fed by any but one particular person. Among the natives it was an object of wonder and fear, and they could never be prevailed upon to go near it. They asserted, that it would carry off a middling-sized kangaroo. It had been intended to be sent to England; but one morning it was found to have divided the strands of a rope with which it was fastened, and escaped.

Accounts of a most alarming nature were received toward the latter end of the month from George's River and the Hawkesbury. The weather had, unfortunately for the maize, now ripe, been uncommonly bad for three weeks, the wind blowing a heavy gale, accompanied with torrents of rain that very soon swelled the river Hawkesbury, and the creeks in George's River, beyond their banks; laying all the adjacent flat country, with the corn on it, under water. Much damage, of course, followed the desolation which this ill-timed flood spread over the cultivated grounds; and, although fewer than could have been expected, some lives were lost.

The prospect of an abundant maize harvest was wholly destroyed; and every other work was suspended, to prepare the ground a second time that season for wheat. The settlement was yet too young to be able to endure such a succession of ill-fortune without its being felt, in some degree, an inconvenience and expense to the mother country. Had the settlers



themselves, in general, been of a more industrious turn, they would have been better prepared for such accidents; and it was much to be lamented, that, in establishing them on the banks of the Hawkesbury, they had not with more attention considered the manifest signs of the floods to which the river appeared to the first discoverers to be liable, and erected their dwellings upon the higher grounds; or that the inundations which had lately happened had not occurred at an earlier period, when there were but few settlers. These, indeed, had been such as formerly no one had any conception of, and exceeded in horror and destruction anything that could have been imagined.

On the first of April a criminal court sat; when, among the several offenders that were tried, two were condemned to suffer death, but pardoned at the solicitation of the gentlemen of the New South Wales corps. In the hope, however, of impressing the minds of these criminals more deeply, they were kept in ignorance of the intended mercy, till the moment when, but for it, they would have been hurried into eternity. On the pardon being read, one of the men appeared much affected; but the other declared that he should never be better prepared to die, and scarcely seemed to desire a prolongation of existence.

On the 16th, the "Speedy" whaler arrived from England, with 50 female convicts; and, what were much more welcome and profitable, 832 casks of salt provisions, which enabled the Governor once more to issue a full ration. In this ship came Captain Philip Gidley King, the Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island.

On the same day, His Majesty's ship the "Buffalo" returned from the Cape of Good Hope, having on board 85 cows, and 20 breeding mares for the settlement. This voyage was performed in seven months. She had made her passage thither in three.

Early in May, the Governor having received information from several of the officers, that they had good grounds for suspecting that some of the convicts lately arrived from Ireland had not left behind them the principles which occasioned their being sent from that kingdom, but were carrying on seditious correspondences, and holding unlawful meetings; in order to discover whether there was any foundation for this conjecture, he caused the most minute investigation to be made; but nothing was found which could furnish the smallest suspicion of the conduct imputed to them.



About this time some propositions had been made, and a correspondence entered into between the secretary of the Bengal Government and the gentlemen who had been employed as the private agent of the officers of the settlement, respecting the transportation of Indian convicts to New South Wales. As this was a measure, though open to no objection whatever, which must be submitted to administration before it could be adopted, the correspondence which had passed on this occasion was sent home.

It was proposed by the Governor of Bengal, to victual and maintain their convicts for one year after their landing; after which, they were to be supported by the settlement. As such a description of people might be very usefully employed there, and would be far more manageable than the convicts from England or Ireland, it was hoped that the plan might meet the approbation of His Majesty's ministers.

It should seem that some favourable ideas of the settlement had obtained in India; for by the same conveyance three gentlemen of respectability addressed the Governor, stating to him their desire of embarking their families and property, and becoming settlers; but as the terms they proposed would have been attended with a considerable expense to the Crown, the Governor, though well aware of the advantages which the colony would derive from having such persons resident among them, found himself compelled to lay their proposals before the Secretary of State.

In the month of May two criminals had suffered death; and June commenced with the execution of three more. If examples of this kind could strike terror into the minds of the spectators, they certainly had not lately been without these salutary though dreadful lessons.

Governor Hunter having received orders to send the "Buffalo" to England, several gentlemen, who had obtained permission to take their passage in her, disposed of their live stock; by which a very considerable addition was made to that belonging to the Crown.

Early in August, the "Albion" whaler ran into Broken Bay, to complete her wood and water. She had on board 600 barrels of oil; but had not been able, through bad weather, to secure more than a fourth part of the whales which they had killed. They had seen an immense number of these fish.



Toward the latter end of the month 1016 gallons of spirits, being attempted to be landed without a permit, were seized by the sentinel on duty.

Information had been received of the death of a convict of the name of Wilson, several times mentioned in the preceding narrative, and who was better known by that given him by the natives, of Bun-bo-e. This young man had preferred the life of a vagabond, and passed the greater part of his time in the woods with the savages, whom he was suspected of instructing in those points wherein they could injure the settlers with the greatest effect, and most safety to themselves. With the wood natives he had sufficient influence to persuade them that he had once been a black man; and pointed out a very old woman as his mother, who was weak and credulous enough to acknowledge him as her son. The natives who inhabit the woods are not, by any means, so acute as those who live upon the sea-coast. This difference may, perhaps, be accounted for by their sequestered manner of living, society contributing much to the exercise of the mental faculties. Wilson presumed upon this mental inability; and having imposed himself upon them as their countryman, and created a fear and respect for his superior powers, indulged himself in taking liberties with their females. However deficient they might be in reasoning faculties, he found, to his cost, that they were susceptible of wrongs; for, having appropriated, against her inclinations, a female to his own exclusive accommodation, her friends took an opportunity, when he was not in a condition to defend himself, to drive a spear through his body, which ended his career for that time, and left them to expect his return at some future period in any shape that their fancies might form.

The natives of the coast, whenever speaking of those of the interior, constantly expressed themselves with contempt and marks of disapprobation. Their language was unknown to each other; and there was not any doubt of their living in a state of mutual distrust and enmity. Those natives, indeed, who frequented the town of Sydney, spoke to and of those who were not so fortunate, in a very superior tone, valuing themselves upon their friendship with the white people, and erecting in themselves an exclusive right to the enjoyments of all the benefits which were to result from that friendship. That they should prefer the shelter which they found in the



houses of the inhabitants, to the miserable protection from weather which their ill-constructed huts afforded, or even to that which they could meet with under a rock, will be allowed to have been natural enough.

September commenced with a renewal of the alarm respecting seditious conspiracies. A report having been circulated, that the prisoners lately sent from Ireland, for the crime of having been concerned in the late rebellion in that country, had formed a plan for possessing themselves of the colony, that their arms (pikes manufactured since their arrival) were in great forwardness, and their manner of attack nearly arranged; a committee of officers was appointed by the Governor to examine all suspected persons, and ascertain whether any such murderous design existed. In the course of their inquiries, the committee saw occasion to imprison Harold, the Roman Catholic priest. This man confessed that the reports were founded in truth, and engaged to discover where the weapons were concealed; of which, he said, many hundreds had been fabricated. In his confession he implicated several of his countrymen, who, on being questioned in their turn, accused several others; and the committee adjudged them all to be deserving of punishment: but Harold was never able to fulfil his engagement of producing the weapons; and after much prevarication and trifling, the committee were perfectly convinced that his sole aim, in all he had said, was that of making himself of consequence in the colony, by having it believed that he, as their priest, could alone have influence to make the conspirators speak the truth. Harold had before applied to the Governor for permission to officiate as their priest; and if well affected to the Government, of which there were but too many doubts, he might have been of much use to the colony in that capacity.

In consequence of these alarms, and as much as possible to do away their effects, by increasing the armed force of the colony, a number of the most respectable inhabitants were formed into two volunteer associations of fifty men each, and styled the Sydney and Parramatta Loyal Associated Corps. Each was commanded by a captain, with two lieutenants; and the whole were supplied with arms and ammunition.

The "Buffalo" being now ready for sea, the Governor, who had determined to return in that ship to England, having arranged various matters relative to the settlement, and the



Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island being on the spot, left the direction of the colony in his hands, and embarked on Sunday, the 28th, having previously reviewed the New South Wales corps; of whom His Excellency took leave with an address, in which he thanked them for their past laudable conduct, and exhorted them to a continuance of it.

This gentleman's embarkation was attended with every mark of respect, attachment, and regret. The road to the wharf, where the "Buffalo's" boat was in waiting, was lined on each side with troops; and he was accompanied thither by the officers of the civil and military departments, with a numerous concourse of the inhabitants; who manifested, by their deportment, the sense they entertained of the regard which he had ever paid to their interests, and the justice and humanity of his government.

The following was the state of the live stock, and ground in cultivation, at the time of the Governor's departure: viz:

Live Stock.—Horses, 60; mares, 143; bulls and oxen, 332; cows, 712; hogs, 4,017; male sheep, 2,031; female sheep, 4,093; male goats, 727; female goats, 1,455.

Land in Cultivation.—Acres of wheat 4,665 $\frac{3}{4}$ ; acres of maize, 2,930; acres of barley, 82; and a considerable quantity of garden-ground, in potatoes, &c., and vines.

The poverty of the settlers, and the high price of labour, occasioned much land to have been unemployed in that year. Many of the inferior farmers were nearly ruined by the high price that they were obliged to give for such necessaries as they required from those who had been long in the habit of monopolising every article brought to the settlement for sale; a habit, of which it was found impossible to get the better, without the positive and immediate interference of the Government at home.

Many representations had been made on this distressing subject; and they seemed in some degree to have been attended to, as in several of the last arrivals from England, certain articles, consisting of implements of husbandry, clothing, and stores, had been consigned to the Governor, to be retailed for the use of the colonists; and it was understood that this system, so beneficial to the settlement, was to be pursued in future.

The "Buffalo" sailed for England on the 21st of October, and touched at Norfolk Island. This settlement wore a most



unpromising appearance. All the buildings were in a state of rapid decay, and but few symptoms of industry were visible. Of stock, only a few hogs and a small quantity of vegetables were to be procured. A few fields of wheat, which were ready for reaping, looked tolerably well; but on the whole, Norfolk Island by no means promised to repay the expense that it annually cost the Government.

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## NOTES.

(BY THE EDITOR.)

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Page 1, line 20. Collins was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the projected settlement at Port Phillip in 1803.

Page 5, l. 18. Arthur Phillip was born in London on October 11th, 1738. He was on the paternal side of German extraction, his father having been a native of Frankfort. He was destined and educated for the navy. Through the interest of his mother he rose steadily, and in 1786, when he was selected for the onerous position of founder of the colony of New South Wales, he had risen to the rank of post-captain. He cannot have made a deep impression on his superiors at the Admiralty, for Lord Howe, who was then First Lord, doubted the wisdom of appointing him. The doubt was unworthy and was decisively refuted by events. In all England no fitter æmist could have been found. His administration was a signal success. It had but one fault—it was too brief. Ailing in body, he returned to England in December, 1792, and he resigned his office in August, 1793. He did not then retire from active service, as one of his biographers states. He was appointed to the command of the "Swiftsure," 74 guns, at Plymouth, and there he was seen by Captain Landman, who has left a snapshot of him. He had a little figure, with a shrivelled-up face, that was almost buried in a large cocked hat, a thin aquiline nose, and a shrill and strong voice. Old salt though he was, he was subject to sea-sickness, and in crossing from Plymouth to his ship he suffered agonies from *mal-de-mer*. He died in November, 1814. For once the historians are unanimous in his praise. All alike recognise his sagacity and foresight, his firmness and determination, his humanity and philanthropy. He was "a seaman of the type of Cook," says Dr. W. H. Fitchett, "with a touch of Cook's genius for exploration."

Page 6, l. 6. John Hunter was born at Leith in September, 1838. Intended for the Church, he felt an inward vocation for the sea. He became sole captain of the "Sirius" in 1788, after Captain Phillip had landed. He still remained under the command of Phillip, who sent him to the Cape of Good Hope for supplies; he returned to Port Jackson in 1789. He was in 1791 sent to Norfolk Island, and there the "Sirius" was wrecked on a reef. He returned to Portsmouth in 1792. In 1795 he was appointed Governor of New South Wales in succession to Captain Phillip. Unable to make head against the disorders arising out of the military monopoly and the sale of spirits, he was recalled—by the agency of John McArthur, the great pastoralist boasted; and he returned to England in 1801. He resumed active service, and was appointed to the command of the "Venerable," which he lost, as he had done the "Sirius." In both cases he was acquitted by court-martial. The portrait of Hunter is that of a man high and true and in all ways admirable, but with perhaps a touch of weakness in the mouth. He



might have succeeded better in the Scottish ministry, where he might have been a leader in the Presbytery and Moderator of the General Assembly. Yet his services to Australia were real, if not great. He surveyed Botany Bay and Sydney Harbour, and he had much to do with the importations of sheep and cattle that gave a start to the pastoral industries in Australia. Like many another man, he was not strong enough to cope with his environment. He died in 1821.

Page 7, l. 28. At first no provision was made for a chaplain for the new settlement. Then William Wilberforce, the anti-slave-trade agitator, exerted his influence with ministers, and through the interest Bishop Porteus had with the all-powerful Sir Joseph Banks, it is stated, but rather through the influence of Wilberforce, we may suspect, the Rev. Richard Johnson was appointed. Lieutenant-Governor Grose scornfully described him as "one of the people called Methodists." He was, at all events, deeply in earnest, and his earnestness won for him Grose's implacable hostility. Grose threw obstacles in the way of the exercise of his profession, and lent him no assistance towards the building of a church, which Johnson ultimately erected at his own expense. While he did not neglect his pastoral duties, he attended with at least equal success to pastoral functions of a different kind. He was perhaps the first, on a considerable scale, to breed cattle and sheep and to sow grain. According to Captain Tench, he was the best farmer in the country. He owned 600 acres, and in twelve years, selling his land and stock, he went back to England in 1800 with a fortune. Wilberforce gauged him more truly than Grose, when he spoke of him as "one of the worthiest men breathing." His biography has been written by James Bonwick, but Bonwick's account of Johnson's later years is stated by Dr. Hocken to be "quite incorrect."

Page 9, l. 37. All the historians give a bad account of Ross. He was a thorn in the side of Phillip, till Phillip got him out of the way by sending him as commandant to Norfolk Island, where he speedily showed his incapacity for governing the island by proclaiming martial law. He seems to have been constantly picking quarrels—with Phillips, with Collins, with everybody; he was extremely abusive of Phillip, whom he accused, in letters to the Under-Secretary in England, of oppressive conduct, and there was nothing too bad to be said about Australia. There was "not a worse country in the world," he thought, "than what he had seen of this." Glad to be gone, he returned to England in 1791.

Page 11, l. 27. This was the world's last glimpse of the famous but unfortunate navigator. He henceforth disappears from human ken. In 1827 his relics were found on Vanikoro, one of the Santa Cruz islands, by Captain Peter Dillon, who himself told the story of the search and the discovery.

Page 17, l. 16. King was the lieutenant whom Phillip most loved and trusted, and whom he designed as his successor in the governorship of New South Wales. In February, 1789, Phillip sent him to establish a settlement at Norfolk Island, of which he was appointed commandant and superintendent. Early in 1790, for no fault of his own (see p. 72) he was recalled, and Major Ross put in his place. When Ross returned to England in 1791, King was reinstated at Norfolk Island, which he governed efficiently till 1796, when he resigned on account of ill-health



(p. 284). In September, 1800, he was at last appointed Governor of New South Wales. He ruled the colony worthily till August, 1806, when he retired—or, as John McArthur would have said, was recalled. He died at Tooting, in Surrey, only two years afterwards, at the early age of fifty. The portrait of King is that of a stronger man than Hunter—perspicacious, resolute, decisive, a man of action. Yet he, too, seems not to have been strong enough to contend successfully against the military junta that then tyrannized over New South Wales.

Page 24, l. 9. Evan Nepean was Under-Secretary at the office of the Secretary of State in 1786, when the settlement of New South Wales was decided upon, and he had much to do with the preparations. He also controlled the government of the colony, and regularly corresponded with the Governor, whom he resolutely supported against complainants. As Sir Evan Nepean he afterwards sat in the House of Commons, and, later still, held a succession of high offices. He died in 1822.

Page 31, l. 20. These stray cattle were, in 1795, by Governor Hunter, found grazing on the western side of the Nepean, where they had multiplied to 60 in number (pp. 256-7). In the following year Hunter again saw them (p. 279); they had increased to 94. Long afterwards they were seen at Mount Taurus, near Camden, and guided John McArthur to the selection of the fine property he there acquired.

Page 39, l. 5. When Rose Hill was discovered and named by Phillip, he was unaware of the native name of the place. On June 4th, 1791, he reverted to its original name, Parramatta. It was the headquarters of a chain of free and convict farms.

Page 41, l. 19. Johnstone was in temporary command of the New South Wales Corps when Bligh was deposed in 1808. Sent Home in 1810 to be tried by court-martial for his share in the mutiny, he was cashiered in 1811. He returned to Australia, and passed the remainder of his days in Sydney, where he lived in honour.

Page 56, l. 32. Phillip was the first to descry and name the Blue Mountains. The expedition described on pp. 56-7 was only one of over a dozen unsuccessful attempts to reach or scale those formidable eminences.

Page 54, l. 34. Those who assert that Phillip's staff, if they except Phillip himself, had not a sufficiently high ideal of their mission, may be advised to peruse this passage, as also another on p. 27, line 19, where Collins speaks of himself and his colleagues as the "founders of a new world."

Page 66, l. 5. One of the first references to the name of the provincial metropolis. It is now known that Lord Sydney, after whom the queen-city is named, was on the point of selecting another title, when King George intervened in favour of Sydney.

Page 94, l. 13. Perhaps the earliest instances in Australia of those church and school reserves afterwards so common.

Page 99, l. 26. Four of the five deserters were afterwards picked up: see p. 251. The fact that Collins states that they must all have perished shows, with other such passages, that Collins wrote his book from day to day. The passage does not show, as Mr. Rusden appears to assume,



that Collins believed that the convicts recovered were not those lost the previous year. He expressly states that they were the same.

Page 101, l. 16. The *snow* was practically a brig, with a foremast and a mainmast, carrying square sails, and a third smaller mast, carrying a trysail. The word is now obsolete, but still occurs in *Redgauntlet*, ch. xiv.

Page 130, l. 18. D'Arcy Wentworth, who subsequently was a prominent colonial official in New South Wales, and was the father of W. C. Wentworth, a chief author of the political constitution of New South Wales and legislative founder of the University of Sydney.

Page 138, l. 2. The chaplain signed his name, Jas. Bain. See his signature in the *History of New South Wales from the Records*, ii., 95. Mrs. Collins afterwards prints the name, Bain, showing (as other examples show) that she was not always careful to correct her author's slips. The instance also proves that Collins wrote his book from day to day, and did not revise it.

Page 140, l. 27. Grose was the son of that antiquary to whom Burns referred when he wrote:—

“A chiel’s among ye takin’ notes,  
An’ faith he’ll prent them.”

His own military record, before and after he was in New South Wales, was extensive and honourable; but as a Governor of the young colony he was not successful. His supersession of civil by military rule was disapproved by the Duke of Portland, Secretary of State, and he left the country a year before Governor Hunter arrived.

Page 149, l. 16. *Soujee*, a species of fine flour, made from the heart of the wheat. *Dholl* (pronounced *dole*), an East Indian name for the pigeon-pea, a kind of pulse, used in India for making porridge.

Page 161, l. 29. Barrington, whose real name was Waldron, was born in 1755, and was the most accomplished pickpocket of his time. He had a successful career in that line. It was not checked by his robbery of Prince Orloff, whom he relieved of a gold snuff-box worth £30,000; as the prince refused to prosecute, the daring thief was let off. Some years later he was sent to the hulks for robbing a poor woman in Drury Lane. In 1790 he was transported to “Botany Bay,” as the settlement was long and incorrectly called. *There* his record was spotless, and his reward great. Ultimately, he became a volunteer chaplain, conducted religious services, and preached sermons. A number of works, descriptive and historical, relating to New South Wales, were published in London in his name, but he disavowed them all. It is also doubtful if he was the author of the prologue to Young’s play, *The Revenge*, performed in Sydney in 1796. See p. 263. It contains the famous line:—

“We left our country for our country’s good,”

which Sir George Grey used playfully to say was received (by the convicts themselves!) with great applause.

Page 164, l. 41. The word “voluntarily,” is evidently inserted to refute the notion that Phillip had been recalled, or driven away, as John McArthur had asserted. Collins, says Rusden, *History of Australia*, i., 163, knew, but “abstained from publishing,” facts that partly caused Phillip’s retirement.



Page 165, l. 31. This and the next three paragraphs refute Rusden's assertion that Collins avoided condemning Grose's supersession of civil by military government.

Page 172, l. 39. Captain John McArthur, the most famous of the early pastoralists, the founder of the wool-growing industry in Australia, and the chief mover, as he was the occasion, of the deposition of Governor Bligh.

Page 219, l. 12. Samuel Marsden, while he was still an undergraduate at Cambridge, was induced by William Wilberforce to dedicate himself to the evangelization of New South Wales. He was ordained by royal mandate, and he was assistant chaplain in the colony from 1794, sole chaplain from 1800 to 1838. His chaplainship or his magistracy involved him in many a tussle with the authorities. He made seven missionary visits to New Zealand, where he planted Christianity, and where he is still venerated as "the Apostle of New Zealand." He was a man of indomitable energy and heroic temper, with "elements of greatness" in his character. He died at Windsor in 1858, at the great age of ninety-four, and lies buried at Parramatta, the scene of his earliest labours.

Page 201, l. 18. *Gram* is the chick-pea, used chiefly for fodder. Collins elsewhere (p. 249) speaks of dhol, soujee, and gram as "trash." Lady Barker found that Indian meal "made excellent cakes of bread": see her *Station Life in New Zealand*, letter xx.

Page 263, l. 25. See previous note on George Barrington.

Page 308, l. 24. This is the first statement of the law of exogamy in Australia, afterwards generalised by John McLennan in *Primitive Marriage*. On this point Collins anticipated Sir George Grey by forty years. Collins's mode of stating it vindicates Spencer's formulation of the law against McLennan's criticisms.

Page 318, l. 12. Collins's perception that the knocking out of a front tooth was "a tribute" was an anticipation of Spencer's theory that savage mutilations were originally marks of conquest and propitiations. Perhaps the passage suggested to Spencer his whole theory of ceremonial organization.

Page 327, l. 20. "Though their tribal right was collective and common over their domains, there were instances in which, from repeated residence at or near the same spot, a man or a family was recognised as having acquired special ascription to one place, and cursory observers mistook it for separate ownership."—RUSDEN, *History of Australia* (second edition), ii., 422.

Page 338, l. 1. The Advertisement of the original is here incorporated with the text. So the account of the Platypus by Everard Home, which is printed as an appendix to vol. ii. of the first edition, appears as a footnote to pp. 361-3.

Page 338, l. 13. Governor Hunter, who favoured Collins with the materials which he has worked up in the following chapters. The concluding words of the previous page show that Collins claimed the composition of them.

Page 358. The three bottom lines have the ring of Mrs. Collins's sentiments, and they do not occur as they stand in the unabridged original. Much freer tampering with the text may be found in Johnson's translation



of Tennemann's *History of Philosophy*, and in Naigeon's editions of the works of Diderot. Yet here, as always in the abridgement, the sense of the original is accurately rendered.

Page 361, l. 14. The first popular description of the far-famed Platypus, a link between the Aves and the Mammalia.

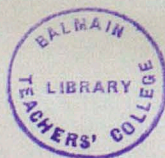
Page 377, l. 8. Probably John McArthur, whom Dr. Lang states to have been a merchant in Sydney before he became a pastoralist.

Page 377, l. 19. Doubtless, military officers.

Page 378, l. 29. Richard Dore.

Page 385, l. 30. The MS. of Bass's journal was afterwards lost. All subsequent accounts of the discovery of Bass's Strait have been written from the abstract or copy, whichever it may be, here given.

Page 398, l. 21. Iguanas.



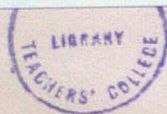








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